RESTRUCTURING TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

THE 1981 HIGHER EDUCATION LAW AND ITS EFFECTS

by

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the changes made to Turkish Higher Education by the 1981 Higher Education Law. The reasons for the new law and its effects on academics and students are discussed within the context of the changing political and social situation in the country.

A brief introductory chapter outlines the background of the subject, the purpose of the research and the methods adopted. The next chapter contains a short discussion of certain basic concepts of education, especially higher education. It considers the historical development of universities, their underlying philosophy, and the main models of universities that have emerged in different parts of the world, noting why they are no longer catering only for an elite but are responding to mass demand.

The first part of Chapter 3 is devoted to the broad sweep of educational developments in Turkey up to the founding of the Republic in 1923. The rest of the chapter brings the account of primary and secondary education and the Village Institutes up to date and looks at these developments against the country's changing social and political background.

Chapter 4 examines the development of Turkish higher education institutions and the ways in which the state sought to control them before 1981. Chapter 5 deals with the introduction of the Higher Education Law in 1981 and notes the criticisms that were levelled at it.

Drawing on the results of interviews and questionnaires, the following two chapters deal with how the law was applied, the changes it introduced and their effects upon academics and students.

The last chapter contains a summary of the work, an overall assessment of the value of the Higher Education Council in Turkey and indicates areas for further research.

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No part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

To Şener, Can and Tan

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PREFACE

The military authorities that ousted the Turkish government on 12 September 1980 made profound changes to Turkey's higher education system before they handed back power to elected politicians. In dramatic fashion and against vociferous opposition they transformed the existing system and the conditions of work of those employed in it. Their proclaimed intention was to suit the system to Turkey's needs.

To implement their plans and to put an end to the anarchy prevalent in the higher education system - on which they blamed many of Turkey's ills - they introduced a Higher Education Council (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu, usually known by its Turkish acronym YÖK) under the direction of Professor İhsan Doğramacı. He claimed the system he introduced was based on the English model. In fact, my research has shown that the system exhibits many of the characteristics common to developing countries in other parts of the world - a tightly controlled, centralized system catering for ever-increasing numbers of students.

In a development bearing strong similarities to the later "promotion" of British polytechnics to university status, the Turkish higher education system, which previously had a few elite but overcrowded, largely autonomous universities based in the major towns and many more specialist institutions of lower standing, was reorganised and the number as well as the geographical spread of universities was greatly increased to meet the regional demands for higher education for students in difficult financial circumstances.

In Turkey, as elsewhere, universities have a big impact in the country's political, social and economic development and many of the

problems Turkish academics and students are facing are common to those found in developing countries. The Turkish experience therefore offers a useful case study for such countries and led me to believe that this would prove a fruitful and valuable field for research.

My belief was strengthened when I discovered that other researchers had scarcely entered this field and, although statistics were available, hardly any detailed research findings had been published. Nevertheless, although, since the introduction of the new system there has been a reluctance to produce serious written research in writing, universities have been among the most avidly discussed topics in Turkey.

It will therefore be apparent that research into such a topic that is both up-to-date and sensitive posed unusual challenges and a need for tact and discretion. In particular, it was necessary to protect the anonymity of interviewees who felt they would suffer if their true views were publicised. Questionnaires were distributed and interviews with academics and students were conducted over a five-year period and the views of the individuals concerned were monitored over that time. It was noticeable that attitudes towards YÖK changed: at first everyone was vehemently against the council but by 1992 there was general agreement that it had had some positive effects, especially in ending anarchy. (No days have been lost because of disorder in higher education in the last fourteen years.)

Unfortunately no officials from YÖK were prepared to be interviewed or to offer any help with this research despite repeated requests. Information about its activities therefore had to be obtained from published sources or from other individuals closely associated with the council.

Periodicals and daily newspapers from Turkey available in Durham

University library as well as relevant extracts sent to me from Turkey proved invaluable for keeping abreast of changes when I was not in Turkey myself.

In addition to the work I did in Turkey, I was greatly assisted by the numerous discussions I had in Britain with academics and students from various countries in an attempt to compare the Turkish and other systems. These revealed, as indicated above, that in practice the Turkish and British systems are very different.

It is my hope that this research will have made these differences clear and that it may prove of interest and value to others conducting similar studies in other parts of the world.

GLOSSARY

DOÇENT..... Associate professor (reader)

ENDERUN MEKTEBİ..... Palace School.

GECEKONDU..... House built unofficially on land to which the builder has no title deeds. (Literally: 'put up overnight')

İDADİ..... Senior high school in Ottoman era.

İLKOKUL..... Primary school. (Five-year course)

İMAM HATIP OKULU..... Secondary school for the training İslamic religious personnel.

KÖY ENSTİTÜSÜ..... Village Institute.

LİSE (Lycée) ..... Senior high school (Three-year course)

MEDRESE..... Theological schools attached to major mosques in Ottoman times.

ORTAOKUL..... Junior high school (Three-year course)

ÖĞRETİM GÖREVLİSİ..... Lecturer whose appointment is temporary and may also be part-time.

ÖĞRETİM ÜYESİ..... Member of tenured teaching staff.

ÖĞRETİM YARDIMCISI..... Member of non-tenured teaching staff on contract (renewable).

RECTOR..... Vice chancellor.

RÜŞTİYE..... Junior high school in Ottoman Empire.

SIBYAN MEKTEBİ..... Primary school in Ottoman era.

SULTANİ..... Name used to designate each one of a special group of senior high schools in Ottoman times.

ŞERİAT..... The Shari'a, Islamic law.

ŞEYHÜLİSLAM (Sheikh ul-Islam).. The chief religious officer in the Ottoman Empire.

TARİKAT..... A dervish order (tariqat).

TÜRKİYE CUMHURIYETİ..... Turkish Republic

ULEMA..... Muslim theologians and scholars in the Ottoman time.

VAKIF..... Religious or charitable foundation created by an endowed trust fund.

YARDIMCI DOÇENT..... Non-tenured lecturer on two-year (renewable) contract.

ABBREVIATIONS

AUT..... Association of University Teachers

DİSK..... Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu)

DPT..... State Planning Association (Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı)

DP..... Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti)

GNA..... Grand National Assembly (Turkish: TBMM)

JP..... Justice Party (Turkish: AP)

METU..... Middle East Technical University (Turkish: ODTÜ)

MP..... Motherland Party (Turkish: ANAP)

NAP..... National Action Party (Turkish: MHP)

NSC..... National Security Council (Turkish: MGK)

NSP..... National Salvation Party (Turkish: MSP)

ÖSS..... Student Selection Examination (Ögrenci Seçme Sınavı)

ÖSYM..... Student Selection and Placement Centre (Öğrenci Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi)

ÖYS..... Student Placement Examination (Öğrenci Yerleştirme Sınavı)

RPP..... Republican Peoples Party (Turkish: CHP)

T.C. ..... Turkish Republic (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti)

TÜBİTAK..... Turkish Scientific and Technological Institution (Türkiye Bilimsel Teknik Araştırma Kurumu)

TÜSİAD..... Turkish Industrialists' & Businessmen's Association (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği)

UNESCO..... United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WP..... Welfare Party (Turkish: RP)

YÖK..... Higher Education Council (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu)

TURKISH WORDS AND PRONOUNCIATION

Turkish words in the text are given in modern Turkish spelling. However, for the convenience of English readers the plurals of these words are usually indicated by an added *s*, rather than the Turkish -ler/-lar; thus, *lises* instead of *liseler*, *gecekondus* instead of *gecekondular*.

The Turkish alphabet is phonetic and presents few problems, but readers unfamiliar with it should note particularly the pronunciation of the following letters:

c is pronounced like the English j in "jam".

ç is pronounced like the English ch in "child".

g is always pronounced hard like g in "go".

ğ has no distinct pronounciation, it generally serves to lengthen the preceding vowel.

ı is pronounced rather like the English 'er' in "chapter" (the corners of
the mouth should be pulled back when pronouncing it).

i is pronounced like the English i in "bin".

ö is pronounced as it is in German "Köln".

ş is pronounced like the English sh in "shoe".

ü is pronounced as it is in German "führer".

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This thesis on the restructuring of Turkish higher education provides a case study of problems common to a number of developing countries, facing the difficulty of devising an education system suited to a rapidly growing population against a background of high rate of unemployment. But the problems of overcrowded universities and high rates of graduate unemployment are not limited to developing countries; they can be seen today in western countries such as Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Greece as well as in developing countries like Egypt, Nigeria, India, Brazil and Chile. The Turkish experience of higher education should therefore interest not only scholars whose prime focus is Turkey but also anyone engaged in the study of comparative higher education. At the same time, the fundamental importance of higher education as an aspect of development studies and regional studies, makes the topic relevant to a yet wider circle of social scientists. As will be seen below, the topic also has relevance for anyone engaged in unemployment studies.

1.2 THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Technological advances in recent years have spurred nations throughout the world to devote an ever-increasing effort to raising the level of higher education in their countries in order to make the best use of their human resources. Mass higher education has become a necessity in the modern world.

However, while technological advance demands a pool of highly educated labour, it does not guarantee employment for all the members of this labour pool at the level for which they are trained. The larger the skilled labour pool, the more intense becomes the competition for the available jobs. Not surprisingly, this situation affects salary levels. Whereas in the past the level of a degree determined to a large extent the salary that would be paid, now many graduates have to settle for a comparatively low salary or resign themselves either to unskilled work or unemployment. The problem is widespread. For example, in Germany 23 per cent of graduates work where degrees are not required, and 20 per cent of the under 25s are unemployed. This is also the case in Sweden, while in France the rate is even higher - 25 per cent.(1)

Turkey, however, experiences it in a still more acute form. There, with no unemployment benefits or immediate job prospects, young people look upon courses in higher education as a means of at least temporary relief from unemployment and also as a way of improving their career prospects in the long run. Therefore a high demand for university

places is inevitable in Turkey as elsewhere. This increased demand is often greeted with more stringent entrance examinations requirements, as, for example, in Germany where 1.8 million candidates competed for 850,000 university places in 1994.(2)

Despite such barriers to admission, the system still lets in more students than can properly be catered for. Overcrowding in universities has become a feature not only in Turkey but also in other western countries, such as Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Greece as well as many developing countries.

1.3. THE TURKISH EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Although it inherited a long tradition, the Turkish Republic, founded in 1923, regards itself, like many developing countries, as a young state. Built upon the remnants of the Ottoman Empire, it accepted the Empire's debts and strove to establish itself as a European rather than a Middle Eastern nation state. Its economy, however, was still undeveloped, based chiefly on primitive agriculture and very little basic industry. The illiteracy rate was 90 per cent and the country had only one university, the Dar-ül Fünun, and this remained a religious and political institute until 1933.

Since then the country has moved forward enormously but erratically and unevenly in different fields, with education playing a major role in the overall transformation. The universities helped to propagate

social, political and democratic concepts and in due course these ideas spread to the public at large. Even the violent student protests over the years served to make people aware of social and political attitudes that had previously been completely taboo and often regarded as positively treacherous. At the same time, staff who had received part of their education at foreign universities were a major influence in the westernization of the country. Universities also made an indispensable contribution to Turkey's industrialization by producing professionals who could push the process forward.

Higher education has been greatly affected by political change. The three military takeovers led by senior officers who felt they were acting to preserve democracy and the essential character of the secular republic showed the fragility of the system but also the strong and widespread desire for a stable democracy. Each of these coups affected higher education. The first produced a new constitution which gave more democratic rights to the public in general and reduced political interference in the universities. The second did not remove university autonomy but gave the state greater power to interfere in higher education institutes. The third, which changed the face of higher education, took away the previous rights granted by the Constitution to universities and set up the controlling body YÖK, which mentioned in the Preface, is the Higher Education Council (Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu). The new constitution of 1982 made reference to academic freedom but removed university autonomy while for the first time stating that the state had a responsibility to

spread higher education institutes throughout the whole country. As a consequence, by 1994 there were 57 universities in Turkey.

Previous reforms introduced into higher education have been justified on the grounds that they accorded with "Western models" and were needed to meet the social, economic and political requirements of the state. The reforms were imposed by the state guided by a small group of "experts" and mostly enjoyed only limited and temporary success. They did not halt the gradual worsening of overall conditions in higher education, since these were largely a reflection of the state of the country itself. Worsening economic, political and social conditions were considered the real cause of the problems in the higher education institutes.

The government justified the new model for higher education introduced after the 1980 coup by claiming it followed the structure of Western European, particularly the British higher education system. Indeed, YÖK was intended to carry out many of the functions that the University Grants Committee then performed in Britain. (3) The purpose of YÖK was to unify all the higher education institutions and sweep away some of the differences that then existed. Thus it sought to implement standard arrangements and criteria for promotions, appointments, curriculums, and dates of university terms, as well as coordinating and to some extent controlling teaching, research and publications.

The changes YÖK introduced were drastic, wide-ranging and swiftly applied with the sanction of law to ensure their implementation. YÖK brought about the expansion of higher education throughout the country with many more student places. (from 237,369 in 1980 to 915,765 in 1992)(4)

The changes in the law had the biggest impact on academics. They complained that it deprived them of a great deal of autonomy and academic freedom as well as control over the curriculum. As the government saw it, however, these curbs were necessary because the anarchy prevailing in the universities in the late 1970s and 1980 was one of the main reasons for the military intervention. From 1974 onwards large numbers of students had entered university because the secondary school system, being largely academic, prepared them for university rather than the employment market. Competition for places became increasingly intense but once admitted the students tended to involve themselves more enthusiastically with political than with academic activities.

The rapid growth in the number of universities created what began to look like a two-tier system; the well-established universities were far better off than the new ones in the provinces that were struggling to exist without proper resources. Some academics in the older universities expressed fears that the new academics had a different outlook and upbringing and that many of them were trying to introduce a Turkish Islamic Synthesis with all that implied for education.

YÖK also had a profound effect on the student body. Previously they had been militant and mostly interested in the country's political affairs and held countless street demonstrations and protests to propound the views of different political student unions of both the left and the right, sometimes uniting for this purpose with their teachers. After 1980, the students no longer had the same attitude towards universities since the universities themselves were no longer such elite and exclusive institutions. Most students concentrated on their work and were anxious to achieve good examination results, but a religious element, which at first formed a small minority but has since grown in strength and influence, started agitating to achieve their goals of making Turkey an Islamic state and thereby threatened the reintroduction of strife on the campuses. Female students were in the forefront of this group as they pressed their demands to be allowed to wear Islamic head-dress in defiance of existing university regulations.

Although students as a whole welcomed the increased number of student places resulting from university expansion, they were generally hostile to YÖK, disliking in particular the heavy examination burden it imposed and the introduction of fees for university education.

1.4. AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The main aim of this research is to investigate the rationale of the 1981 Higher Education Act and its impact upon Turkish universities,

academics, and students and how it has affected their relationship with society and the state.

In order to do this it will first establish the nature of the previous higher education system and the reasons why that was considered unsatisfactory. The research then concentrates on the nature of the new system and its relationship with the state and the extent to which it conformed to the wishes of the government.

In the course of the research an attempt is made to answer a number of specific questions:

- What special role should universities play in the developing countries?

- How much did Turkish higher education need to expand to meet the country's needs?

- Could Turkish universities have remained elite institutions, confined to the major cities, uninvolved in the development of the country?

- How was university elitism affected by the introduction of mass higher education?

- Has higher education an acceptable role as a buffer against unemployment?

- How much importance did academics attach to autonomy?

- How responsive were academics to the need for change?

- How far were student political activities directly related to their own specific problems and how far were they concerned with the wider economic, social and political conditions of the country as a whole?

- How has the new system affected student political activities?

- How does the public regard universities in Turkey and how have their views changed since the new system was introduced?

- Are university students motivated more by economic than by social and academic considerations?

- What are the main problems facing a single centralized body attempting to run all the country's universities?

- How has the relationship developed between the politicians and bureaucrats who constitute YÖK and the academics and students whose lives they control?

- How successfully has YÖK fulfilled the tasks entrusted to it?

1.5. METHODOLOGY

In the preliminary stages of this research, a survey of the literature was conducted, starting with general works before focussing more precisely on the details of the topic. Thus, I read widely on education in general, then on higher education - including comparative higher education - and its place in national political and sociological contexts. Attention was also paid to theories of education and the models that different countries have sought to apply, concentrating particularly on higher education in developing countries.

With the benefit of this information I then turned to the examination of the Turkish case, again starting with a look at the wider field, including the political and social history of the country before concentrating on the history of education in Turkey and the developments in higher education there in the present century. This also entailed an examination of the laws relating to education

After completing these preliminaries, I prepared questionnaires and planned the other aspects of my field work. Since the research is concerned with very recent and contemporary events, this aspect of the work was of particular importance; it was not possible to rely on publications by other people, especially as most of what had actually appeared in print was biased in one direction or another. To obtain the impartial information required, from 1988 to 1993 I made numerous visits to different parts of Turkey to research into the past and

present state of higher education by conducting interviews with members of academic staff, students, administrators, politicians, legal experts and others involved in higher education. I also distributed questionnaires and recruited assistants to distribute still more. To increase the value of these questionnaires, wherever possible the respondents were interviewed in order to double-check the accuracy of the answers and to obtain more in-depth information. In order to provide a basis for comparison some questionnaires were also distributed and interviews conducted in Britain with staff and an international cross-section of students.

Efforts were made to establish by means of the interviews and questionnaires the respondents' understanding of what universities should be doing and what were the implications of the policy changes affecting them and how they personally had been affected.

The information gained in this way provided a large part of the primary material used in the preparation of this thesis. This was supplemented by the reports and other publications of YÖK and the State Planning Organisation as well as government statistics, laws, regulations, and newspapers and periodicals were that constantly monitored for relevant information.

It was noticeable that most of the books and other publications that constitute the secondary sources were generally hostile to YÖK, thereby reflecting what seem to be the commonly accepted views of the majority at present.

The social, economic and political situation in Turkey was kept in mind during the process of analysing and evaluating the information obtained in the course of the research and this approach is reflected in the text of the thesis.

1.6. OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

Since the changes in education, especially those in higher education, are closely related to the political, economic, and social state of the country, these interrelated subjects have been covered simultaneously throughout the work.

Chapter 2 first offers general background information about the basic concepts of education and higher education. It then outlines the development of university education, leading on to the three most widely accepted university models currently found: American, British, and European. Next, the special role and impact of universities in developing countries is briefly discussed. Finally, the social and economic changes that have affected higher education policies are looked upon.

In Chapter 3 attention is turned to Turkey, starting with a historical outline of pre-university education from the late Ottoman period to the present day. The various attempts to reform and improve education in general are set within their historical context, with the Republican period being examined in greater detail.

Chapter 4 concentrates on developments at university level and looks at this against the background of changes in society at large. Particular emphasis is laid on the period from 1960 onwards and the reasons for increasing chaos in the universities in the 1970s are examined in an attempt to explain why both civil and military governments blamed Turkish universities for the disorder in the country. Finally, the need for reform is examined.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the 1981 Higher Education Law and examines in detail the articles relating to autonomy, staff and students. It then notes numerous evaluations made of this law and in the light of these criticisms discusses further amendments that might be considered desirable.

The following two chapters are about academic staff and students. Chapter 6 examines the situation of academics at various points in the history of the Republic, both before and after the Higher Education Law became effective and then discusses why governments sought to change the relationship between the state and universities and in particular the question of autonomy and the different western models that influenced their decisions. The increased research requirement imposed on academic staff is also considered. The results of interviews and questionnaires designed to discover the impact of YÖK on academic staff are noted as are the consequences for academic staff of the two-tier system that developed after the rapid expansion of universities in the 1980s.

In Chapter 7 a similar approach is adopted to examine how students have been affected by developments in higher education against the social and economic conditions of Turkey at the time. Student anarchy - one of the important social issues in Turkey for some years - is considered in the same context. Again, the results of interviews and questionnaires are evaluated.

In Chapter 8 the conclusions of the research as a whole are summarized and suggestions are offered for further lines of research that could profitably be followed in the field of higher education policy in Turkey.

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CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT AND DIVERSITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to outline the basic concepts, which will be used throughout this thesis, of learning, education, training and higher education. The description of higher education will be followed by an outline of changing attitudes to the subject through the ages. An attempt will be made to describe the purpose of higher education as well as current ideas on autonomy. The next section will carry the discussion further by citing examples of higher education models in different parts of the world, noting in particular recent changes affecting British higher education since these have influenced Turkish universities. Finally, the impact upon higher education of the profound social and economic changes that have occurred all over the world since 1950s will be considered.

2.2. BASIC CONCEPTS

Although countless books have been written discussing the concept and nature of education, it is not proposed to rehearse here the details of that debate, since it would entail too long a diversion from our consideration of the higher education system in Turkey. It may,

however, be helpful to note briefly some of the terms that are used, so in this section we shall look at 'education', 'learning' and 'training', and note how these terms overlap. We shall then mention responsibility for educational provision, the proclaimed purposes of education and finally what has become its primary task in the modern world: preparing individuals for the job market.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO, defined education as "organized and sustained instruction designed to communicate a combination of knowledge, skills and understanding valuable for activities of life". (1)

Although some writers try to make a distinction between learning and education, the two terms inevitably become intertwined in many contexts. Those who make this distinction usually regard learning as an individual, natural, not necessarily organised process; education, on the other hand, is tuition offered to individuals by society in a more formal, systematic process that may (or, if it is unsuccessful, may not) increase the individual's learning.

Similarly, many people stress that there should be a clear distinction between training and education, but again these concepts cannot easily be separated. For example, a Department of Education and Science publication in 1985 said, "Education and training cannot always be distinguished, but are complementary". (2) Peters, however, claims:

> ..."Education" implies that a man's outlook is transformed by what he knows whereas "training" suggests the acquisition of appropriate appraisals and habits of response in limited conventional situations and lacks the wider cognitive implication of "education". (3)

It is useful to see education as a wide, open-ended process whereas training is directed towards imparting particular skills.

Regardless of the niceties of definition, provision of both education and training is generally accepted as a primary responsibility of every state. Indeed, in recent years most states have made education available to the masses. In December 1948, Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights reinforced this responsibility: "every individual has a right to education". (The same article also states: "higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit".)

While the responsibility for providing education is placed upon the state and generally accepted by the state, the purpose of this education remains a subject of greater controversy. At one extreme are those who see education in terms of noble and lofty concepts. Mallison expresses such a view:

> To be effective, an education system must closely reflect the ethos of those it is called upon to serve. To know what we want from education we must know what we want in general. Our theories about education must be derived from our philosophy of life. So it is that the real nature of a system of education, and its marked differences from others, can only properly be understood when the concept of MAN underlying is analysed and examined. (4)

He goes on to point out that many countries use their education system to transmit their nation's traditions and culture from one generation to the next and make this process one of the most important goals of the system:

> Education is the transmission from one generation to another of acquired experiences, and what is transmitted within an organized society with a history is not individual experience but cumulative experiences of past generations which become enshrined in its traditions, folk-lore, customs, literature, and so on... Ultimately, each country's educational system has to be seen as having its present character because (a) it has been conditioned to develop in a certain manner and along certain clearly defined lines, and (b) it has had to make the effort to correspond with and adjust itself to the social realities of the times....In education there must co-exist AIMS and PURPOSE, never at variance with one another. Purpose remains relatively constant, whilst aims must change from generation to generation and so revivify purpose. (5)

As well as such considerations, all education systems must endeavour to keep abreast of new knowledge and scientific and technological developments and pass these on to the rising generation. This is seen as essential for the economic as well as the educational well-being of the people.

But, increasingly in the modern world, it is the economic importance of education that has become dominant. Today, for most people, the chief aim of education is the acquisition of better qualifications so as to secure better employment opportunities in the ruthless job market. As Dore remarks:

> teachers say to their pupils: '..learn this or you will not become a good doctor, a skilful carpenter, a fully-developed human being, a good useful citizen; you will not know how to earn your living,... What the qualifier says to his pupil is: 'learn this or you will not get the chance to be a doctor or a carpenter; nobody will give you a living'. The first appeals to the inner standard of conscience and promises self-achieved fulfilment; the second invokes external arbiters, threatens exclusion, evokes anxiety'.(6)

Related to its importance in fitting people for employment, education has in recent years in many places been used as a temporary remedy for unemployment. It does this simply by occupying young people who would otherwise be in dole queues and swelling the unemployment statistics.

Thus, the purpose of education, and higher education in particular, is seen increasingly in terms of its relationship to the economy of the country concerned, especially its employment profile.

2.3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTITUDES TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Since it is useful to view current attitudes in wider historical perspective, relevant stages in development of attitudes will be outlined on next few pages.

2.3.1 EARLIER VIEWS

The essentially conflicting views of higher education, touched upon above, can be traced back as far as Confucius and Lao-tse in the sixth

century B.C. Confucius argued that education is a process for integrating individuals into society and that knowledge should be acquired for the sake of harmony in society. Lao-tse, on the other hand, emphasised the cultivation of the individual, and argued that purpose of learning was to achieve understanding. These attitudes in some ways constitute the earliest expression of two views which later became categorised by the terms "vocational" and "liberal". (7)

In the West the first written idea of higher education may be found in Greece. Although the Greeks did not have higher education available on a large scale, they cherished it as a concept. Around the fourth century B.C. a new school of teaching started. A group of men called sophists could teach "every kind of knowledge". Plato was one of them. Later Plato differed from the sophists and established the first university called 'Academia'. The Academy was for the young men who had been chosen to be military and political rulers. Plato perceived higher education as the cultivation of the individual for the sake of the ideal society; the individual was to be helped to achieve inner happiness, which would allow the state to benefit from the harmony of satisfied citizens fulfilling their roles. (8)

There are similarities between the ideas of Confucius and Plato in the description of higher education for individuals and their interaction with society.

Whereas another Greek philosopher Aristotle saw higher education as the guiding principle for human conduct, and emphasised that the

ultimate aim of education was to prepare the individual for the active enjoyment of leisure. He believed that activity connected with leisure was *theoria*, or the disinterested search for truth. (9)

It was not until hundreds of years later that more democratic higher education institutes were founded. The first one was established in Bologna in 1088, then others followed; in Paris in 1199, in Oxford 1167 and in Cambridge 1209.

Medieval universities were democratic and open to everybody. Each university had a *stadium generale*. The students and masters who were members of the stadium generale were jointly participating in all activities regardless to their capability level. Soon after their earliest beginnings the universities were given an independence from the rest of society. Each university was permitted by its religious leader to become a *universitas* with its members forming, literally, a self-governing community of scholars. (10)

Their idea of higher education included a participative approach to learning and inquiry, a collaborative form of internal government, institutional autonomy, making the institutions open to all comers, and a belief in the value of study for its own sake tempered by critical discourse. (11)

In the middle ages the goal of higher education became "the pursuit of truth and learning", and the universities "were viewed as institutions

dedicated to the advancement of knowledge and training of scholars." (12)

By the fourteenth century the autonomous universities were affected by several problems which mainly arose from the establishment of nation states and increasing urbanization. They started to look to civic authorities for solutions to their financial problems, and this development enabled them to pay regular salaries from civic sources. (13) In the long run this led governments to take a closer and closer interest in controlling higher education.

In the Renaissance, humanist philosophy dominated the western world. This held that the goals and central concern of learning and higher education should be expounding the purpose of life and developing the individual, especially by training the mind and not through teaching vocational skills. (14)

In the sixteenth century, the French philosopher Montaigne's secular view on man "as an autonomous being" was developed by his followers Bacon and Galileo. (15)

In the eighteenth century, Rousseau, expressing views similar to those of the early Chinese philosopher Lao-Tse, denounced the civilized society and underlined "the importance of the growth and development of the individual as opposed to the creation of a good citizen". (16)

By the 19th century Oxford and Cambridge had monopolised higher education in England for seven hundred years, then a number of new universities were established such as London, with its beginnings in Gower Street (1828), King's College, London, (1829), and Durham (1832). Durham and King's College were religious foundations. Another religious university (in this case Catholic) was founded in Ireland. Newman was invited to help to establish this university as rector. In 1852 his lectures entitled 'The Idea of a University' were published. In these Newman proclaimed that university education should be 'liberal' and learning should form 'a connected view or grasp of things' described as 'philosophical' acquisition of knowledge. (17)

Newman was very much against the idea that research should be a main activity for a university. At the beginning of his book he stated: "a university is concerned with the diffusion of knowledge rather than with its advancement". (18) Later in the book he declared himself unequivocally in favour of a separate academy or research institute in which knowledge would be advanced. He held this view because he considered that the ability to undertake teaching and research were separate gifts, "not commonly found in the same person". (19) According to him, university education constituted "intellectual excellence" and a higher education was "a higher form of understanding, gained through self-reflection on what is taken for knowledge". (20)

His ideas on this subject proved very influential and he was regarded as the founder of modern liberal education. The purpose of liberal education was to 'train the mind' and through this kind of education 'a habit of mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom.' Newman then claimed that an individual educated in this way would be able to 'fill their respective posts in life better' and be 'a more intelligent, capable, active member of society'.(21)

Newman's ideas can be found in education in the Arts, especially in America. But over the course of time universities became increasingly interested in research, so Newman's ideas about the desirability of having separate research institutions had but little effect, especially in British universities.

Historically the German educational philosopher Karl Jasper was a major opponent of Newman's ideas. His book, 'The Idea of the University', published in 1946 and translated into English in 1960, had a modern approach along the same lines as that adopted by British universities. He held that research is the foremost concern of the university and the teaching was secondary. He described the university as simultaneously a professional school, a cultural centre and a research institute and without one of these elements the university's intellectual substance would be destroyed.(22)

The higher education offered in both Germany and England in the 19th century sought to give students a cultural experience for its own

sake. The two systems did, however, differ. Higher education in England was based on a face-to-face tutorial system and depended on social interaction to nurture "gentlemen" for society. The German system was based on a "personal interaction with knowledge, and any human interaction rode on the back of that experience". The German model looked to the elevation of mind being attained by the student in "personal pursuit of knowledge". (23)

The discussion about whether the university's main duty is research or teaching goes on. Lord Annan writing, when he was Provost of University College, London, stated:

> There really is no mystery about the roles of the university. For the past century there has been no dispute about its two main functions. It exists first to promote through reflection and research the life of the mind; second to transmit high culture to each generation. (24)

Today, the staff of modern universities in the West are expected to carry out both duties and many have responsibilities not only for teaching students but also for the advancement of knowledge through research (often designed to benefit industry). In British universities, most academic staff believe teaching comes second to research. (25)

Most of the teaching staff members of western universities are convinced that if they are to transmit genuinely "high culture" then they must be at the forefront of research. In today's changing world, knowledge changes and develops so fast, especially in science,

medicine and technology, that it is essential for academic staff to be actively engaged in research or their knowledge soon becomes outdated. If we want to give the rising generation an education that will enable them to keep abreast of change we have to give academic staff access to the latest knowledge - and that can best be achieved through research. In certain instances rapid progress in technology and science affects methods of teaching and learning and this may allow for some adjustment or combination of the relative amount of time allocated to teaching and research in those subjects.

2.3.2 HIGHER EDUCATION TODAY

The higher education establishments (both universities and other higher learning institutions) are the primary producers of the knowledge that is to be transmitted to students. So they exist not only to instruct and educate but also to provide the main resources for their students and to contribute positively to the progress of their country.

In the modern state today, higher education across the world is institutionalized, and knowledge taught in higher education establishments is becoming universal. These establishments have become providers of the qualified work force for international as well as national needs. In this respect they are fulfilling the first of the four purposes that Barnett discerned for higher education:

1. the production of qualified manpower
2. a training for a research career
3. the efficient management of the teaching provision
4. extending life changes. (26)

Williamson's sociological approach put higher education among such resources of society as investment capital, private property of all kinds and publicly provided welfare goods, which are together woven into a complex of constraints and opportunities. (27)

There is general agreement nowadays that higher education in general and universities in particular represent an investment by society on behalf of students to benefit that society as a whole as well as its industry. As the world is changing rapidly, technology and science are developing at an incredibly fast pace. In this context the role of higher education becomes ever more important. Harvard economist Robert B. Reich wrote recently:

> Increasingly, educated brainpower - along with roads, airports, computers, and fibre-optic cables connecting it up - determines a nation's standard of living... In the emerging economy of the 21st century only one asset is growing more valuable as it is used: the problem-solving, problem-identifying and strategic-brokering skills of a nation's citizens... Intellectual capital has become a uniquely important national asset. (28)

Generally a common agreement is emerging around the list of what should be the concerns of higher education. Barnett summarized these as:

1. The pursuit of truth and objective knowledge.
2. Research.
3. Liberal education.
4. Institutional autonomy.
5. Academic freedom.
6. A neutral and open forum for debate.
7. Rationality.
8. The development of the student's critical abilities.
9. The development of the student's autonomy.
10. The students' character formation.
11. Providing a critical centre within society.
12. Preserving society's intellectual culture. (29)

However, as Barnett points out this list does not include any aims that link the function of higher education to the needs for professional competence in the labour market, although this is now a major task of many higher education institutions. (30)

2.4. THE PHILOSOPHY OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Of the various philosophies that underlie higher education two have gained pre-eminence: *the liberal philosophy* and the *vocational philosophy*. These are given different names by some authors. For example, the Harvard Report termed liberal philosophy *as classical* and vocational philosophy *as pragmatic*. Butts and Cremin, on the other hand, described them as *intellectualist* and *experimentalist* while the Carnegie Commission called them *restorationist* and *utilitarianist*. Burgess described the same philosophies as *autonomous* and *service*, whereas Brubacher describes them as *epistemological* and *political*. (31)

Liberal higher education is associated with 'knowledge for its own sake'. The liberal higher educationalists believe that knowledge should be objective and higher education should have an academic autonomy. (32) The students in this context should have an unrestricted access to knowledge and they should also feel that the whole world of knowledge is open to them. (33) Some liberal philosophers think that higher education should not be provided just to help people earn a living but to become good human beings. In 1914 a lecturer in Oxford was quoted as saying:

> Nothing that you will learn in the course of your studies will be the slightest possible use to you in after life - save only this - that if you work hard and intelligently you should be able to detect *when a man is talking rot*, and that, in my view, is the main, if not the sole purpose of education. (34)

Taking the liberal view, Adam Smith emphasized that:

> ..an instructed and intelligent people are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one...they are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through, the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and they are, upon this account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of the government. (35)

The philosopher John Stuart Mill also supported this view and stated that:

> Universities are not intended to teach knowledge required to fit men for some special mode of making their livelihood. Their object is not to make skilful lawyers, or physicians, or engineers, but capable and cultivated human beings. (36)

Underlying the liberal philosophy is the concept that people undertake higher education out of a sense of curiosity to try to understand the world they live in. They seek the answers in universities. As Hutchins remarked, the purpose of universities should be to solve the most puzzling problems - even unthinkable ones - of society. (37) These liberal philosophers hold that universities should work for precise validation of knowledge and should reach "value-free" conclusions. This philosophy draws a line between the academic and the practical world. The practical world is open to incidents and error but as the academic world as is more controlled its errors can be minimized even neutralized. (38)

Vocational philosophy, on the other hand, believes that education should serve the needs of the society not the individual. Brubacher, for example, thinks that:

> Professional expertise should be developed not as a matter of idle curiosity but because of its enormous significance for the community; the nation needs trained manpower. (39)

The vocational philosophers believe that the problems of government, industry, employment, education, health, international relations so on can be solved through the expertise of a university. In other words, universities can serve the public as well as teach, conserve and expand knowledge. (40)

Allen, however, notes some contradictions between the two philosophies. He thinks that vocational education inevitably involves giving outside professional bodies and employers and the state a

measure of control over the institutions. The result weakens their academic autonomy while strengthening the state's position. Liberal philosophy insists upon academic autonomy and pays "no heed to the requirement of employers or the state". (41)

These two opposing philosophical models can be seen competing in the universities. The liberal philosophy is evident in humanitarian studies as well as in liberal art colleges and theology departments but vocational philosophy is practised in science and technology departments and in professional education. Even among the proponents of predominantly vocational education, however, there are many who accept that liberal education gives a good general education and many employers recognise that general intellectual skills are necessary assets and room should be found to include some aspects of liberal education in vocational education programmes. (42)

2.5. THE GOALS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Both the liberal and the vocational philosophies of higher education colour the expectations that modern states and individuals have of what higher education can and should deliver. It is now largely taken for granted that higher education ought to contribute to material development and also to the spread of certain such human values such as harmony, freedom and justice. Some people also expect it to encourage equality, security, good order and even religion. Some of these ends are clearly controversial, so there is a growing effort by

several educationalists to develop a catalogue of goals for higher education especially for the universities. Allen's catalogue, prepared for British universities, suggests that these institutions should address themselves to catering for:

A. The abilities and attitudes of individual students:

1. Cognitive learning

a. Verbal skills
b. Quantitative skills,
c. Substantive knowledge
d. Rationality
e. Intellectual perspective
f. Aesthetic sensibility
g. Creativity
h. Intellectual integrity
i. Lifelong learning.

2. Emotional and Moral development

a. Self awareness
b. Psychological well-being
c. Human understanding
d. Values and morals
e. Religion.

3. Practical Competence

a. Traits of value in practical affairs generally
b. Leadership
c. Citizenship
d. Work and careers
e. Family life
f. Leisure
g. Health

B. The needs of society

1. Knowledge

a. Preserving and accumulating knowledge,
b. Disseminating such knowledge as is required to achieve the goals listed in section A in this catalogue.
c. Discovering new knowledge through research, both pure and applied
d. Applying knowledge, both old and new, to the solution of practical problems in industry and commerce and in society at large.

2. The arts

3. The discovery and development of talent

   a. Identifying and developing particular skills which individual students have and certifying the level of skill which has been achieved by each student.
   b. Providing the skilled manpower necessary for the maintenance and growth of national productivity.
   c. Offering opportunities for study to all those who seek a university education (including those from overseas), whether possessing formal qualifications or not, whether rich or poor, on either a part-time or full-time basis.
   d. Providing continuing education courses, both vocational and non-vocational.

4. University experience

   To provide direct satisfaction and enjoyment for employees, students and other participants in university life. (43)

Bowen's list, differs from Allen's and includes these further points:

1. the avoidance of negative outcomes for society and advancement of social welfare which includes economic efficiency and growth,

2. enhancement of national prestige and power, progress toward the identification and solution of social problems,

3. improvements in the motives, values and aspirations, attitudes and behaviour of members of the general population and over long periods of time,

4. exerting influence on the course of history as reflected in the evolution of basic culture and fundamental social institutions. (44)

Allen challenges Bowen's inclusion of "the avoidance of negative outcomes for society and social welfare", saying that universities should not, for example, "teach how to kill enemies of the state".(45) Moreover Allen adds that his list can be used with reference not only to Britain but anywhere in the world since it does not include dogmas or controversial points.

2.6. AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The concept of autonomy is as old as the tradition of higher education. Complete autonomy implies that the higher education institutions concerned are self governing communities with no control from governments or other outside bodies on their internal activities. As Warnock says, "an institution that is self-governing can govern itself well or ill, despotically or democratically. But the principle it adopts, the decisions it makes, are dictated to it by no one from outside."(46) The autonomous university in the west is often referred as a "republic of scholars".(47)

It is widely believed that in order to be able to teach and do independent research a higher education institution should be able to distance itself from government control. Since these functions are regarded as more and more important in fostering progress in the developing countries the need for autonomy in higher education is regarded as even more pronounced there than elsewhere.

However, recent changes have limited autonomy and made it conditional in many parts of the world. Control is now more often in the hands of governments than of academics. Complete autonomy may be unrealistic as universities are not financially independent.

The 1990s have brought major changes to the concept of autonomy. Universities fear they are fast becoming mere government agencies in most countries and the academics are left no choice but to help to solve manpower needs by training more highly qualified people in accordance with government requirements, so government interference is growing.

Autonomy is generally linked to the subject of academic freedom, that is to say, the freedom to teach, study, research and publish without interference. Academic freedom is essential to protect the individual academic from possible interference by governments, other academics, the press, the public and religious authorities. Academic freedom relates to the individual whereas autonomy relates to institutions. They can exist independently of each other. For example German and Swedish universities lack autonomy but offer academic freedom. But the lack of institutional autonomy can jeopardies academic freedom in teaching and research, in curriculum decisions and in the academic spending, since these matters are directly related to academic freedom. Barnett says these subjects are all "matters of judgement", so there is "at least an empirical connection" between them. He argues that in practice a "degree of an autonomy is necessary for the academic freedom". (48)

The Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) in Britain emphasized the following points relevant to this issue:

> academic freedom is not job protection for life but the freedom within the law for academic staff to question and to test received wisdom and to put forward new and controversial or unpopular opinions without placing individuals in jeopardy of losing their jobs. (49)

In an ideal world, since there are no final truths, the concept of academic freedom should be sacrosanct and authorities should not interfere. But in reality, societies and universities are changing rapidly and the concepts of autonomy and academic freedom are subject to constant review and are becoming harder to define in a way that meets universal approval.

2.7. RESEARCH

Teaching and research are the main tasks of higher education. Research can be developed only with experience and facilities. Its results can then be transferred to younger generations or to industry by teaching. In the pursuit of new knowledge universities have to absorb and develop existing knowledge, then apply it and transmit it. The universities' task is not completed unless the results of research are transmitted through teaching and also by means of publications. The efforts of individual researchers combine to produce new knowledge

that is objective and no longer dependent upon the individual researchers. As well as producing and transmitting this new knowledge, experienced researchers have the duty to train junior staff to undertake research.

The terms 'research' and 'scholarship' are often used indiscriminately. For our present purposes scholarship will indicate keeping up with the latest developments in the subject, and research will mean developing new knowledge. This distinction accords with the definitions given by Allen:

> Research is any form of investigation which leads to new knowledge, that is to say knowledge which has never been available to anyone. Scholarship, on the other hand, is the pursuit and mastery of existing knowledge, however obscure. (50)

Bowen's definition of research is less precise:

> Research, defined broadly, includes the scholarly, scientific, philosophical, and critical activities of the institutions of higher education for the purpose of preserving, acquiring, disseminating, and applying knowledge. (51)

Throughout the history of universities, scholars have argued about whether universities should or should not carry out research. Newman was a well-known opponent of universities being engaged in research. In contrast to him, Jasper said:

> The university is simultaneously a professional school, a cultural centre and a research institute. (52)

Universities in the developed countries are heavily involved in research and development that can be used directly in industry, and the research is a vital part of the universities' functions. Major firms have contracted funds for the universities, especially in the natural sciences. Public funds are also major sources of research support in the western universities. Moreover, some scientific research is an expensive activity that can best be carried out by universities. Some universities in the West rely on basic industrial research for their survival. In fact, industry is today often virtually dictating to the universities the research they must do and giving them very little opportunity to create their own ideas. But this is not relevant to our subject at the moment.

Research activities in the West can be carried out in both state-owned and private institutions.

Recent technological changes make it important to ensure that undergraduates as well as postgraduates undertake research as this will help them to become more deeply involved and interested in their subjects in science and technology. Departments such as physics, chemistry, biology and engineering have to have adequate research facilities and staff to get undergraduates engaged in research. Universities in the West publish large numbers of research papers every year and take a pride in publicising their research activities and results. Indeed, their research and teaching activities go hand in hand. This is the case in the social as well as the natural and

applied sciences, and can be of particular importance in research into education, public sector activities, business and management studies.

2.8. HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD

Until the beginning of the twentieth century the major industrial countries had similar higher education systems. When industrialization gained momentum higher education started to expand: in England, for example, the major universities could not cope with student demand, so civic universities were created; in France, the University of Paris was complemented with Grand d'Ecoles (similar to polytechnics) and the Ecole Normale; in the USA, the great expansion of colleges started in the 1860s; in Germany, traditional universities were joined by Technical High Schools in order to establish technical universities. (53)

Since the 1950s the higher education systems throughout the world have been subject to forces pulling in different directions: the internal desire to maintain traditional educational values, and external customer demand. (54) The resulting system is the product of the particular society concerned. It is, however, now common to find in any part of the world an increasing demand for higher education from members of the public who wish to improve their place in the society and also from governments anxious to solve their manpower problems.

In advanced industrial societies managerial, professional and technical posts are increasingly taken by people with a higher education. For example, in the USA and Japan some 85% of senior managers have degrees, while the figure for Britain is 24%.(55)

Developed countries offer a wide range of higher and further education opportunities to all age groups. The universities in some of these countries like the USA, Japan, Italy, are of two types: private and state. Most of them demand fees. For example in the USA 25% of the state universities' income comes from student payments. Students in the private universities have to meet the full cost of their education (sometimes with the help of scholarship). In state universities in Japan half of the university income comes from the students, whereas in France and Italy student fees are almost a symbolic amount. In Spain student fees have constituted 20% of the university income since their 1983 University Reform Law.(56)

According to most authorities, higher education systems throughout the world tend to follow one of three main models that are distinguished from one another by the way in which the universities are controlled, the nature the relationship between their staff and the state and university, and the staff hierarchy. The three different models are usually termed American, British and Continental European.(57) Developing countries usually claim to have adopted one of these three models but in practice, as the state generally controls most things in those countries, their higher education systems are usually markedly different from their purported models.

2.8.1. THE AMERICAN MODEL

Higher education, whether private or public, that follows the American model is heavily subsidized by the state. Control of higher education institutes in the USA is in the hands of the heads of the institutions concerned. Each university has a board of trustees appointed by the federal governors for a fixed period.(58) These boards of trustees provide institutional autonomy. Each individual member of the university board of trustees has a say in decisions on the faculties' budgets, examination systems, academic posts and salaries, in the same way as a member of a company board in business enterprises. The board of trustees appoints the president of the university (vice-chancellor) either from among the academics or an outsider who has the ability to direct the university's affairs. The board and the president together choose heads of the departments. Once appointed by the board of trustees, these heads of department are given the freedom to choose their academic staff and run their own departments.

The system relies on professional managers to run the institutions. The government provides some funding but does not get involved in the running of the universities. Academics have little say in running their faculties. American academics consider that their institutions should grant them academic freedom to teach and research as they themselves see fit.(59)

The teaching hierarchy comprises professors, associate professors and assistant professors as well as research professors. An academic may

gain tenured status after working in the same university at least six years.

Research is a major function of American universities and has to achieve excellent results as otherwise the institution's income would suffer. (60)

There are several different sorts of higher education institutes functioning in America, differing from one state to another. [There are 50 states, 3,300 higher education institutions and 12,500,000 students. (61)] In recent years governments have shown some interest in exercising greater central control over the higher education system in the USA. There is still no specific law that binds higher education together, but in 1965 and 1972 two higher education acts aimed at controlling the public and private universities, their relationships and their funds, were accepted by Congress.

Access to higher education in America, whether public or private, is heavily subsidized by the state and access to it is more democratic and more populist than elsewhere, with nearly half of the graduates from the secondary schools going on to higher education. (62)

The students get financial aid from the Federal government whatever their economic situation. The government plays a pivotal role for the support of academic research and 70% of the research in mathematics, chemistry, astronomy and the earth sciences is largely assisted with government monies. (63) Universities compete with one another across

state boundaries to get the best students, so student achievement grades are very important both for the individuals and the universities concerned. As each institution and state differs in the education it offers, professional bodies set their own nationally accepted examinations for graduates.

Funding for the colleges and universities comes from a wide variety of sources: parents, grants and loans from Federal government and the various states, contributions from the private sector.

The higher education system, as a whole, is responsive, flexible, and offers a wide range of courses.

2.8.2. THE BRITISH MODEL:

In contrast to the American model, UK universities are run by their own academics not by externally appointed boards of trustees. Governments exercise considerable influence through financial allocations but they have no direct appointees on the university councils. The British government makes money available to the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC) and this allocates the funds for each university, but the universities themselves manage this money.

The quality of the British higher education system has long been widely acknowledged. In May 1991, a new educational era began. The government introduced a mass higher education system with the White

Paper entitled Higher Education: A New Framework. This White Paper foresaw that the binary system of universities and polytechnics would change in favour of a single more uniform system. In accordance with the White Paper, a new university-run scheme, called the Academic Audit was to be introduced, involving meta-evaluation of teaching within individual universities.(64) Mass higher education would accommodate one school leaver in three (an extra 300,000 students over the next eight years), polytechnics could call themselves universities, the funding bodies would be dismantled and 'a single intelligence' would replace them, though with separate establishments in England, Scotland, and Wales. The Council for National Academic Awards, CNAA, which was awarding the degrees for the polytechnics, would be merged to be used with both universities and polytechnics. So, by 1994 there were 95 universities in the United Kingdom (the polytechnics had all opted to be known as universities).(65) The Open University, which offers a wide range of distance-learning courses and attracts many adult students from every education level. The University of Buckingham is the only British university which is independent of direct government aid; it is funded by private benefactors and student fees.

The task of controlling the quality and efficiency of the universities as a whole is entrusted to the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and the Standing Conference of College Principals.

Research is one of the main duties of the universities alongside their teaching. However, the government only provides limited funds for

research through Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC). Academics frequently have to find their research funds either from the private sector or from a Research Council.

The staff in the universities are appointed by the individual university but generally paid at rates decided by the government each year. The main grades in the hierarchy are: lecturer, senior lecturer, reader, and professor (though salaries of senior lecturers and readers are often identical). Under the 1988 Education Reform Act tenure was abolished for new appointees, as the government saw that as one of the main obstacles to efficiency.

A university's council is that university's legal representative in all negotiations for obtaining grants from public bodies in aid of the work of the university. It is also the governing and executive body of the university with responsibility for the custody, control and disposition of all its properties and finance. Subject to the agreement of the senate, the council is also responsible for the organisation of teaching and research, including the appointment of the chairmen/chairwomen of Boards of Studies, for the maintenance of discipline and for the regulation of relations between the Council and the students. The council has the power to appoint staff.

In comparison with other systems, the staff in the British university system are relatively free from government control or pressure. The academic staff often have considerable latitude to decide what and how they will teach or research. Individual departments play a main role

in monitoring the progress of their staff and students. However, the degree of external oversight is increasing, especially as the extent of funding is increasingly dependent on teaching and research quality assessments.

British higher education institutes have for a very long time used a system of external examiners to assure comparable quality in the grading of student work and degree awards. Under this system, the work of teaching staff is to some extent controlled by other academics from outside their own university. The staff of one university prepare examination questions and obtain the approval of their external examiner who also discusses the proposed marks awarded to candidates. The external examiner is free to contest these marks.

25% of students in Britain currently want to go into higher education. Admission to most higher education institutions is very competitive. However students with required qualifications usually succeed in gaining a place somewhere in the system. Part-time and mature students are also catered for. Most qualified students have their fees paid by their local education authorities and those from lower income families have a proportion of their living expenses paid from the same source, though increasingly students have to make use of the recently introduced student loans system to survive. Most undergraduate courses take three years of full-time study, though there is now a tendency to follow the European example and extend the duration to four years, particularly in science subjects.

As not many of the courses are vocational, those students who enter certain professions have to take separate examinations after they have graduated, though a few courses give partial exemption. So, as in the USA, professional bodies set their own qualifying examinations in subjects such as accountancy and engineering.

2.8.3. CONTINENTAL EUROPE

Although Europe includes different countries with differing social and economic structures, the higher education provision on the continent shows similarities in terms control, structure and staffing.

In contrast to Britain and America, European institutions of higher education are closely controlled by the central or regional authorities in their state. Although there are widely varying private and state institutions, they all have to follow directives from the authorities. In Germany, under the federal system, higher education is the responsibility of the 16 Länder which work with the federal government in controlling the 58 universities and 9 other higher education institutes. In France, the Ministry of Education controls the 78 universities and Grand Ecoles as well as religious institutions and private universities spread throughout 19 regions, while in Sweden there are six universities and 27 higher education institutes under the control of Ministry of Education. In the Netherlands the Ministry of Education controls the four private and nine public universities

plus some 400 higher education institutes that comprise the higher education sector.

In most European universities research is given priority over teaching. Research is also conducted in the private and state-owned research institutes.

European higher education institutions are open to all students with the appropriate academic or vocational secondary school diplomas. For example, in Germany there is a vocational training system, parallel to the universities, offering qualifications in such subjects as banking and hotel management. In addition, companies offer apprenticeship to school leavers. (66)

Although in France and Germany admission to university is a constitutional right, this of course does not guarantee admission to the university or course of the student's choice. Indeed, as a result of growing demand for higher education in Germany since 1976 entrance to certain degree courses is controlled by centrally organized examinations. In France entrance to Grand Ecoles is controlled by a centrally organized examination system. Certain institutions have a reputation for being very elitist, though the overall percentage of people in higher education is greater in Europe than in Britain, but not as high as in the USA.

European states exercise tight control over higher education by means of special administrative laws that give total financial support to

the universities. The state also appoints university rectors. In Germany and in France rectors are appointed by the Ministry of Education and in Sweden these appointments are made by the Council of Ministers. Usually the rectors are the representatives of the state, but they do not interfere with academic matters. Thus, the academics within the institutions enjoy a considerable degree of academic freedom. The academics themselves are officially civil servants and so have tenure. They are nevertheless free to teach without government control.(67)

From 1984 some changes to the model have been appearing in a number of European countries, with the adoption of what Van Vught calls a system of "steering at a distance".(68) For example, in France in 1984 a new non-governmental body called the Comité National d'Evaluation was established to replace the direct control previously exercised by the Ministry of Education (though the Ministry is represented on the Comité). It reports directly to the President of Republic. In Sweden, in order to monitor and evaluate the higher education system, National Higher Education Commission was established in 1991.(69) In an interesting development in 1991, three Flemish universities from Belgium joined with the universities in Netherlands to form a collaborative university.

2.9. HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

University education represents one of the biggest investments made by individuals and society. In the early 1960s developing countries realized they had to invest more in human resources. On this subject Dore states:

> Capital was the missing factor which outside aid donors could supply to create the impetus for self-sustained development. But soon it was apparent that physical capital was not enough. Capital given to Europe under the Marshall plan,.. proved productive because those countries had people with the knowledge necessary to make it productive. Similar investment in an Indonesia or Burma, which lacked engineers and managers and technicians of the richer countries, failed to produce the same results. And so economists rediscovered the importance of complementary human factors, of 'investment in human resource' . Some of these economists were most concerned to demonstrate the importance of education, to estimate, by various forms of calculation, the 'social rate of return' - the balance of the costs and benefits it brought to society. They argued, for example, that 'expenditure on education...is to be thought of as an investment - investment in mankind...The returns on education, both individually and socially, are at least as high as those in physical capital'.(70)

So the developing countries rushed into expanding their higher education provision without the necessary preparations and without the employment vacancies for the products of the universities. As a result, enrolment in secondary and higher education outpaced economic growth. Paper qualifications and diplomas were the main keys to enhancing job prospects. Those with superior certificates could get superior jobs, especially in the public sector. This was certainly true for Turkey. Consequently, the demand for higher education grew and more and more higher education institutions had to be opened. In

summarizing the results of this expansion of higher education in developing countries, Dore stated:

> the more widely education certificates are used for occupational selection; the faster the rate of qualification inflation; and the more examination-oriented schooling becomes at the expense of genuine education. (71)

At the moment the importance of qualifications in the developing countries is greater than ever but the standard of the qualifications is lower than in the developed countries.

Higher education reflects the economic and political realities of the society. The amount of resource and money allocated for teaching and research is the measure of the economic well being in the country. The third world countries or developing countries suffer from social, political, economic and demographic instability. Political and economical crisis in these countries are usually followed by an intervention by the army, which is usually strong. The social institutions under these circumstances are not democratically established and developed and the higher education is particularly affected by the direction of the social, economic, political and demographic changes. Increasing government control over education is a characteristic of an unstable power.

A speech by the former rector of University of Havana summarizes the outlook of totalitarian regimes to universities:

> In countries like Cuba, where the people are running the country through their government machine, university autonomy is really thing that is quite consistent.... The university is a part of the State...it is under the Ministry of Education, which determines its general policy and which correctly fits the university into overall education plans.(72)

There are similarities between this outlook and the attitude to higher education in other developing countries. The developing countries seek to adopted one of the systems found in the western world. Most Latin American countries and the Philippinnes opted for the US model system, while former British colonies like Nigeria, Hong Kong, South Africa, and the Caribbean states adopt the British system.(73) However, as Williamson argues in his book *Education and Social Change in Egypt and Turkey*, adopting a western model entails not only dependency in science but also in various other respects, making the developing country a consumer in the "international knowledge system" in which the developed countries are the producers.(74) However, they have little option; developing countries appreciate that the way to development is through "human capital".(75) Knowledge transfer is available to a certain extent either as aid to developing countries or as a commodity to be purchased; in either case it can lead to a continuing relationship and technical dependency.(76) So, although Johan Galtung sees the transfer of western technology as "a structural-cultural invasion",(77) the developing countries have no choice if they are to continue developing in order to increase the wealth of their people.

As well as establishing universities in their own countries, developing states also try to achieve a knowledge and technology transfer by sending scholars and bright students to study in developed countries either with government scholarships or with funds provided from the developed countries or UNESCO, the Ford or Rockefeller foundations, and so on. Although the temptations to stay in the developed country may lead to a brain drain, in practice this does not constitute a great problem.

The rapid increase in the population and significant transfer of the workforce from agriculture to industry in developing countries give rise an ever more urgent demand for higher education. But where the education provided is not geared to the labour market, the problem of unemployed graduates subsequently becomes serious.

The higher education institutions in the developing countries have a more complex and comprehensive task than their developed counterparts. They not only need to transfer the new technology and knowledge to the masses, they also have a responsibility to spread the idea of democracy.

Coleman and Court followed fifteen universities in twelve developing countries between 1961 and 1981 under the auspices of the Rockfeller Foundation. Their findings reveal that the idea of higher education in the developing countries is established on the same principles as in the developed countries with institutional autonomy and academic freedom. But contrary to the practice in developed countries, higher

education in the developing countries is much more vulnerable and open to control by governments with central authority. The universities in these countries are public institutions and teachers are civil servants. This gives them a great "statism, dirigisme, self-censorship and a political avoidance of controversial issues". They add that most of these universities are greatly dependent upon government budgetary support and they are thus vulnerable to budget cuts during economic crises.(78)

2.10. THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Developments in recent years in technology, together with related and coincidental social and economic changes have had a major impact on higher education throughout the world. A number of these changes will be noted briefly here since they have had their effect in Turkey as well as the rest of the world. In particular, technological advance has had a profound effect upon the labour market and on manpower planning considerations. In many parts of the world this has contributed to rapid urban migration as well as the need for a more highly skilled and educated workforce. At the same time, this urban migration has raised social expectations and consequently increased the demand for higher education still further. Now parents are eager for their children to gain the advantages that they think higher education will confer. Universities are increasingly seen as institutions to produce trained manpower. As a consequence, the

content and character of higher education as well as its availability have also been affected.

Both to keep abreast of technological developments and to respond to the demand for higher education nations everywhere have had to expand higher education provision. This mass provision has gone a long way towards ending the elitist nature of university education. In some instances the expansion has served merely to postpone the unemployment of students who would not previously have been likely to go to university. In others it has been directed to fitting students for specific roles in industry or commerce. However, the difficulty of predicting manpower needs with any precision sometimes dooms such efforts to failure. Many graduates now complain that they have no opportunity to use the skills and qualifications they acquired at university; either they can find no work at all or they can only get employment unrelated to their studies; others need to get yet more qualifications. Consequently, the average educational level of the unemployed is rising.

Inevitably universities and industry have been brought into a closer relationship. Governments need a flourishing industrial base to provide the finance needed for higher education. Both governments and industry have an interest in ensuring that manpower needs can be met and unemployment kept to the minimum. Universities are expected to conduct the research that will keep industrial concerns competitive, while industries are expected to fund much of this research. One

effect of this symbiotic relationship is an increasing emphasis on science and technology in the universities.

It is not only large industrial concerns that are interested in the research and teaching conducted in universities. Small firms may be even more dependent on them as they lack the resources to carry out these functions independently.

The increasingly international nature of industrial development also has its implications for both the labour market and higher education. Individuals need to be trained to operate in an international environment with universally accepted standards of competence. This imposes demands on the higher educational institutions training those individuals. It also adds to the influence of multinational companies. This makes many people in universities feel they are increasingly subject to the demands of big business. The extent to which universities can be independent is decreasing. As an OECD report stated:

> University/industry relations have entered a new phase in terms of goals as well as magnitude. The need to explore new forms of communication and collaboration arises partly from pressure of competition on the side of industry, partly from financial stringency on the part of the university, and on the whole from the fundamental scientific and technological requirements of progress in many areas of research. (79)

2.11. CONCLUSION

As has been shown in this chapter, higher education throughout the world has been profoundly affected by the enormous technological, social and economic changes witnessed in recent decades. Although different traditional models of universities persist, the pressures of the modern world are forcing greater uniformity. The trend is towards centralization, increased government control, either direct or indirect, closer links with industry, and inexorable expansion.

The mass nature of modern higher education has put an end to the elite status that a university degree once conferred. Most ivory towers have now crumbled and universities strive to meet the requirements of industry and the labour market.

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CHAPTER 3

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TURKEY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

As discussed in Chapter 2, education especially higher education throughout the world was traditionally the preserve of the elite of society and it maintained this reputation until the 1950s. Since then industrial demands led to expansion of higher education, making it available to the masses.

The aim of this chapter is to show that Turkish education, especially higher education, was not different in this respect from other countries. Higher education in Turkey was as elitist as elsewhere and Turkish academics as well as students, though not representative of society at large, had a major influence in the country's social and political development. Since the tradition of higher education in Turkey can be traced back to Seljuk times, at least a brief acquaintance with the historical development of education in Turkey is essential to a proper understanding of the present Turkish university system. Thus this chapter will give a short historical overview of the progress of education in Turkey with a short description of its components.

3.2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS UP TO THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

When the Seljuk Turks occupied Anatolia they set up a new capital in Konya and made it a flourishing centre of civilization, the traces of which can still be seen in the impressive architecture of their mosques and medreses. The medreses were institutes of higher theological education, usually autonomous and situated within a mosque complex. They were the forerunners of today's Turkish universities. Their reputation was so high that they attracted scholars from distant parts of the Islamic world, including many fleeing westwards before the Mongols.

Medrese students were recruited from graduates of the *Sibyan Mektebi* (primary schools). These again were mostly attached to mosques. They were not a responsibility of the state but were controlled by the ulema (qualified theologians who were guardians of Islamic law) and usually funded by endowments (vakıf) provided by wealthy individuals as a meritorious charitable act. Tuition was normally free and available to any boys whose parents wished them to take advantage of it. They would normally enter at the age of five or six. Instruction in these schools was largely devoted to rote-learning of the Koran in Arabic and other aspects of Islam. Turkish was not taught. Nor did teachers regard it as their duty to explain what they were teaching. As Başgöz and Wilson point out, 'Any analytical understanding of what was mentioned was purely accidental'.(1) Sibyan teachers were normally from the locality.

As well as teaching, theyoften officiated at marriages and burials and acted as arbitrators under the şeriat law in village disputes thus combining the acts of social worker with that of teacher. The sibyan aimed to produce good Muslims and loyal members of the Ottoman Empire. The fact that in 1924 there were only 364 of these schools left to transfer to the new Ministry of Education is evidence of their failure to adapt to changing circumstances.

When the Ottomans succeeded the Seljuks and established a vast empire, they continued the Seljuk tradition of founding medreses. The major medreses became in effect the first public universities in Anatolia. There was no set period of study at an ordinary medreses, but the basic courses at the higher level medreses lasted approximately five years.

Medrese graduates formed a distinct group known as the ulema. Their medrese training prepared them to be guardians of the sacred laws, the *şeriat*, and in this capacity they expected the absolute obedience of the Muslim population. They exercised a controlling influence over cultural and social life as well as over religious affairs. After graduation most of them moved into the lower ranks of the administrative and religious system, occupying posts as kadıs, müftis, imams, clerks, secretaries, teachers and so on. The more ambitious ones would return to medreses at various stages of their careers to qualify for higher posts. They might be forty or forty-five years old before they had completed the twelve grades to the highest level, though most would drop out much lower down.

Before the mid-sixteenth century Ottoman medreses had relative freedom of discussion but thereafter they rejected any practice that would encourage an appeal to individual reason and they resorted to blind repetition of the "truths" of Islam. Thus they contributed to and in turn suffered from the decline of the Ottoman Empire and its culture. As the decline progressed, poorly educated people were appointed to teaching posts. The medreses became overcrowded and degenerated into institutions that awarded degrees and academic titles to the sons of wealthy and powerful ulema members. Many of the ulema had always regarded the teaching of non-religious subjects with suspicion and hostility. Now they limited the curriculum to "religious sciences".

Medrese organisation itself inhibited development of the medrese system in response to changing needs. Instead, medreses suffered greatly from the declining fortunes of the Empire, turning largely into philanthropic institutions when they accommodated many of the Turks displaced from the Balkans and Thrace after Turkish defeats there. The numbers of these refugees were subsequently swollen by many unscrupulous tax-dodgers who found a convenient haven in the medreses.

Inevitably this state of affairs eventually prompted demands for reform. But when the Republic was founded, Atatürk concluded that medreses were beyond reform. In the new Turkey the reactionary,

religious education they provided was out of place. The future lay with the universities. So, in 1924, the medreses were abolished. A new era of Turkish education had begun.

3.2.1. PALACE SCHOOLS

In Ottoman times, the highest levels of learning were imparted at the Palace School (Enderun Mektebi) and in the medreses. The Palace School took the élite of Christian youths conscripted under the *devşirme* system and trained them for administrative responsibilities. (There was a separate school *Şehzadegan Mektebi* where royal princes were taught.) The Palace School was founded by Mehmet II, the conqueror of Istanbul. Its curriculum was liberal and practical and included religious, vocational, physical and intellectual training designed to fit its graduates for posts in provincial and central government. The foremost specialists of the day gave lectures there. No pains were spared to ensure that the students would become firm in their attachment to their Sultan and to their new faith, Islam. In comparison with its Western equivalents, the Palace School was more practical but less intellectual. Nevertheless it was a centre of sophistication. The Ottoman arts flourished there, and the aim, in Miller's words, was to produce a 'man of letters and a gentleman of polished speech, profound.courtesy and honest morals'.(2) The Palace Schools declined with the Ottoman Empire and were closed after the

Young Turk Revolution of 1908 led to the reintroduction of the Constitution.

3.2.2. MILITARY SCHOOLS

The Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), under which Turkey had to cede Hungary, made manifest an Ottoman decline that had begun considerably earlier. It brought home to the Turks their failure to keep up with military developments in Europe. Indeed, Ottoman economy, agriculture, industry, transport and technology all lagged behind their European counterparts, but it was the loss of territory that made them realise the need for military reforms and these in turn led to important educational developments.

A number of new schools were founded to give instruction in subjects needed by the Army and Navy. The first was the School of Geometry (the Hendeshane) in 1734, though reactionary elements soon forced its closure.(3) Next came a School of Mathematics for naval officers in 1773.(4) Both these schools had foreign instructors. The latter school subsequently developed into a Naval Engineering School. In 1795 a military equivalent was formed, the Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun (Land Engineering School).(5)

After the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826, education, particularly that provided in military schools, became much more

secular. In 1826 an Imperial Medical School (Tıphane-i Amire ve Cerrahhane-i Mamure) was established.(6) Its students were chosen only from Muslims and its purpose was to train doctors for the army. It included a preparatory section to give what amounted to secular primary and secondary education - the first in Turkey.(7) In 1831 an Imperial Music School was founded to train army drummers and trumpeters, and in 1834 a School of Military Sciences. This was modelled on the French military academy St. Cyr and many of its instructors were foreigners. This, too, had a preparatory division for children.(8)

In 1827 Sultan Mahmud II started sending selected military and naval students to Europe for education. This had a profound effect upon the Empire. Officers returning to Turkey after their stay in the West brought back new political ideas as well as new military methods. Mahmud also appreciated the need to train civilians. Two schools to train boys for the civil service were established at two large Istanbul mosques: Sultan Ahmed and Süleymaniye.(9)

3.2.3. CIVILIAN SCHOOLS

In 1824 Mahmud II made the state responsible for primary education. This had little practical effect, however, because there were no proper primary schools in existence. The sibyans continued to be

under the control of the şeyhülislam and gave only religious education. Mahmud II's edict remained a dead letter.

After 1838 many new civilian schools opened, and they trained the intelligensia of the Empire. Religious control and influence were avoided in these schools and modern sciences were introduced into the curriculum. Subjects included mathematics, geometry, physics, history, economics, international law, Ottoman literature, and Turkish.

The first secondary schools, *rüştiye*, opened in the middle of the 19th century. The rüstiyes were not proper secondary schools; they offered something between primary and secondary education. their curriculum included Arabic, Persian, grammar, Turkish spelling and syntax, calligraphy, vocabulary and ethics. When the children were 14 their schooling was brought to an end.

After the Ministry of Schools (Mekatib-i Umumiye Nezareti) was established in 1846 the number of rüştiyes increased. In 1852 there were 12 but thereafter another 25 were opened. (10)

The first girls' *rüştiye* was established in Istanbul in 1859. It was called " Cevri Kalfa Rüstiyesi". The number of girls' rüştiyes grew after 1870 in important cities. The first higher rüstiye was established by the mother of Sultan Abdülmecit, Bezmi Alem Valide Sultan, and when she opened the school - now called the Istanbul Kız

Lisesi - she brought her son and her daughter with her. This gesture gave a great boost to girls' education.(11) Before the girls' *rüştiye* there was no education for girls except the sibyan schools which gave only religious education.(12) Girls' education was considered in a totally different light from that of boys and although it was thought important to provide women with moral and religious instruction, no other training was deemed necessary since their role was as "centres in the spindle".(13)

Teaching women to write drew particularly strong condemnation from some quarters: "He, the teacher, must not instruct any women or female slaves in the arts of writing, for thereby would accrue to them only an increase of depravity".(14) There was a saying, "A woman who is taught to write is like a serpent who is given poison to drink". However, this orthodox view was ignored by wealthy families whose daughters were often tutored privately at home.(15)

The Ministry of Public Education Act (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi) dated 1869 stated that a town [kasaba] with more than 500 houses could open a rüştiye and the school expenses would be paid by the local education authority [illerin maarif idaresi sandığı](16). The course would last four years and anyone with a sibyan certificate could go to a rüstiye without any further examination.

The doors of the new civilian schools were opened to everyone. As a result of the free boarding facilities in many areas these schools became havens for the Ottoman aristocracy.

Beside the rüstiyes there were other civilan schools such as *idadis* and *sultanis*. The first idadis were established in Bosnia and other army centres in 1845. The main aim of the idadis was to educate young civilians for the Harb Okulu (Military Academy) and military medical schools. The course at the idadis, like that at the rüstiyes, lasted four years in all, but the last year was spent in Istanbul. Later some of the sibyan schools were also called idadis. (17)

After the 1869 Act known as Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, the idadis became firmly part of the *secondary* education sector. The aim was to educate Turks and non-Turks together and the teaching did not include religion, Arabic or Persian.

3.2.4. SULTANIS

After establishing the Ministry of Public Education (Maarif Nezareti), Ottoman educators discovered that rüstiyes did not adequately prepare students for higher education.

In 1867 the French government sent a diplomatic note to the Sublime Porte (Bab-i Ali) demanding a secondary education for the children of Christian minorities in the big cities.(18) At the same time the French were anxious to strengthen their political and cultural influence in the Near East and to proffer their advice and services to the Ottomans.(19) In the same year, Sultan Abdülaziz was visiting France and saw the French lycées and was very impressed by the lycée system. Eventually, in 1868, the Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, with the assistance of Education Minister Saffet Pasha, established the Mektebi Sultani, which became more commonly known as the Galatasaray Lycée.

The total duration of the course at these lycées was originally ten years, later reduced to nine. At first most of the teachers were French and other foreigners. The school had two branches: Arts and Science. The language of tuition was French and the students paid tuition fees. A serious attempt was made to offer a modern, Western secondary education curriculum. A few similar schools were established by foreign missionaries. The American Protestant Robert College had been founded in 1863. But the Galatasaray Lycée was the first serious attempt by a Muslim government to provide modern education at secondary level in a Western language. As such it had a big influence in modern Turkey.

In Istanbul another school which was on a par with the sultanis was the Darüşşafaka, founded in 1873. Its students were chosen from

orphans and the education was like that of a French military lycée except the language was Turkish. The teachers, who were mostly army officers, worked in this school completely voluntarily for years without any salary. (20)

3.2.5. TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES

The first teacher training school, called Darülmuallimin-i Rüsdi, was established in 1848 by the Minister of Public Education, Kemal Efendi, in Fatih, Istanbul. the aim of this school was to educate teachers for rüstiyes (which had been established ten years earlier). Kemal Efendi saw that the teachers who were educated in medreses were not up to the task of teaching in the rüstiyes. This development was a very important step towards opening new civilian schools, but this particular establishment, situated in a very religious part of Istanbul, could not escape becoming little more than a shadow of the medreses. (21) The course in this school lasted three years. In 1868 the new teacher training school for primary education was established in Istanbul and called Darülmuallimin-i Sibyan. The Ministry of Public Education regulation dated 1869 had decreed that high quality teachers be trained to work in the rüştiyes, idadiyes and sultaniyes, but it took a further five years before the first idadi teacher training school opened in 1874. Lectures on teaching methods were not included in the curriculum until 1878, when it was taught by

Aristokli Efendi.(22) Teacher training schools were developed in 1908 by Satı Bey.

Ministry of Public Education regulations had anticipated a teacher training school for women called Darülmuallimat, to produce teachers for the sibyans and rüstiyes for girls. This school was established in 1870. The education for sibyan teachers lasted two years and that for rüstiye teachers three years; the curriculum was the same as at the other teacher training schools. It is interesting to note that lectures on teaching methods, as required by the 1869 regulation, were included in the curriculum, though, as we have seen, there were no similar lectures for men until 1878.(23) The Women's Teacher Training School produced a total of 302 teachers between 1870 and 1895.(24)

Teacher training schools were insufficient for the whole Empire. There were 12,000 sibyan schools throughout the Empire in 1860. Their teachers were religious functionaries because at that time there were no teacher training schools. A Sibyan Teacher Training School was opened in 1868, but in 1875 there were only 25 students in this school. The situation was similar with regard to the rüsdiye, idadiye and sultaniye teacher training schools. In 1871 there were only 200 students for these schools. The extent of this inadequacy is striking: there were 300 rüşdiyes throughout the Empire.(25)

3.2.6. MANUAL ART AND CRAFT SCHOOLS

Another educational development during the nineteenth century, even though it was unplanned, occurred in the practical areas of arts and crafts. The Manual Arts and Crafts schools were needed by communities to train young people for specific essential jobs. The first Manual Arts and Crafts school, which was called Yesilköy Ziraat Talimnamesi (Agricultural School) was established in Istanbul in 1847. Many foreign specialists worked in this school and the students were chosen from both Muslim and Christian applicants. But it closed after only four years. In 1857 a Forestry School was established by two French specialists and in 1874 a Mining School was founded.

Arts and Crafts schools of a more general nature were founded by Mithat Pasha in 1860. The students were chosen from orphaned and poor children. As Basgöz points out, "In a sense they were half workshops and half schools, with their economic output as significant as their educational input. They embodied a new pragmatic utilization of education in a society where education had been traditionally the handmaiden of religion". (26)

The teachers were artisans and craftsmen with prestige in their own trades and with close relationships to the local economy and community. The schools stressed labour and practical experience rather than rote-learning.

They dealt with applied knowledge, skills and the crafts of a particular locality. For example, in Sivas the school trained rug-makers, in Kastamonu it prepared boys for work in the hemp industry, in Diyarbakir they sustained the leather works, and in Edirne coach makers were trained. The schools sometimes had their own shops, fields, pastures, mills and small factories.(27)

The government did not allocate any funds from its own budget for the support of the Manual Arts and Crafts schools until 1914. The people of the Empire adopted the Arts and Crafts schools as their own and did not react with the antagonism they had shown to the schools training civil servants. They appreciated that the craftsmen who were trained in the manual arts schools had an important role in the economy.

3.3. EMERGENCE OF CONTEMPORARY HIGHER EDUCATION

The first university - called Darülfünun - was planned in İstanbul by Mustafa Reşit in 1846. The aim of the Darülfünun was to bring together students from all parts of the Ottoman Empire and give them an education that was modern and secular. But because of the government's reaction to student participation in the revolutionary movements then sweeping Europe, the Darülfünun could not actually open at that time. "In its place Mustafa Reşit developed the Council of Knowledge (Encümen-i Danış) in 1851, appointing some of the leading political and administrative figures of the time". (28) The Council also planned a university including divisions for both religious (*ilim*) and modern sciences (*fen*), but nothing was done before 1863. The Darülfünun was started in 1863 with a public lecture by Derviş Paşa on physics. At first the University consisted of a series of public lectures given by learned pashas, but there were no connections between these lectures. The aim of the lectures was to attract the interest and attention of the public, and sometimes the Grand Vezir and the ministers used to come and listen to them. As time passed, the public lost interest and the medreses started to criticise the Darülfünun. In 1865 its new Darülfünun

building was seriously damaged by fire and 4,000 books were burned. In 1869 the General Education Law (Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi) gave legal authority for the establishment of the University and made numerous stipulations including the opening of new departments such as Philosophy, Literature, the Science of Law, Natural Sciences, and Mathematical Sciences. The courses were to last three years for ordinary students and four years for those who wished to teach in University. The Darülfünun would accept students form the age of 17 who passed the entrance examination.(29) However, this law did not come into force until 1870 when Tahsin Efendi, who had studied positive science in Europe, became Director.

In 1870, 450 students were accepted. Some of them were from the medrese and some from Galatasaray Lycée and the Civil Service School. But when lectures started, religious people, especially members of the ulema from the medreses, made hostile propaganda against the University, and in particular against the lectures on positive science, claiming that Tahsin Efendi was ungodly.(30) The Darülfünun was closed down again in 1871 in response to these attacks.

Later the government decided to open it, as part of the Mektebi Sultani, and this was done in the academic year 1874-75. The departments in this new Darülfünun were those laid down in the 1869 General Education Act. Some lectures were in French, some in Turkish, and some in Arabic. But this attempt ended in 1882 with another closure.(31)

The most impressive achievement in higher education was the *Mülkiye*, which was founded in 1859. The Mülkiye's aim was to train civil servants and the school was purely civilian. At first the training was for two years, but in 1867 it was lengthened to four years.(32)

Yet another reorganization in 1877 most affected the senior classes and also included modern subjects in the revised curriculum. The students were selected from talented clerks in the Sublime Porte and from medrese students. In all there were 100 students from these two categories and they all had to sit the entrance examination. That same year boarding facilities were also added for students from the provinces. The first graduation was in 1861 for a total of 33 students. By 1885 the numbers had risen to 395, 295 of whom were

boarders. The Mülkiye was an intellectual centre throughout the remaining years of the Ottoman era and into the Republican period.

Another civilian school like the Mülkiye was the Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye (Civilian Medical Shool), established in 1867. Because no suitable site could be found for the first five years it was located inside the army medical school, but in 1872 it moved to new premises. The school made strenuous efforts to attract public attention and to encourage students to come from the provinces. The language of instruction was Turkish and attempts were made to translate many foreign medical works into Turkish. After further closure and reopening in 1900, the Darülfünun was inaugurated for the fourth time and given the name Darülfünun-ü Osmani (the Ottoman University). It was now largely intended as a means of reducing the number of people leaving the country. In this period of absolutism young people in Turkey were kept under strict government control and many chose to escape to Europe to study, although that was forbidden. (33) The Ottoman University consisted of the faculties of Theology, Literature, and Mathematics and occupied a few rooms in the Mülkiye building, though it was laterto become the core of the University of Istanbul. (34)

3.4. THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD (MEŞRUTIYET)

The Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918) marked an enormous change. With the sudden great increase in freedom of expression, political and intellectual life suddenly became active. Attempts were made, especially during the Balkan Wars, to grapple with social problems. Some minor improvements were achieved in the quality of education, particularly university education. Noteworthy educational developments at this time include:

1. A general acceptance that teachers and education could save the Empire that was then in a state of collapse.
2. Teacher training was improved.
3. The first Teachers' Union was formed.
4. Higher education opportunities were introduced for young women.
5. There was an increase in the number of schools, teachers, and pupils (but without a corresponding increase in quality).
6. The concept of "freedom" captured the popular imagination. (This is reflected in the vogue for calling many of the new schools "freedom schools" - hürriyetçi mektepler.)
7. The subject of education was more openly discussed and debated in the Press.(35)

Despite such developments, there was very little real educational progress in this period. In the era of Absolutism advance had been blocked by one man, the Sultan, whereas now it was thwarted by the disagreements and indecisiveness of a multitude of public figures, while the problems caused by the wars, first in Thrace during the Balkan Wars, then on the various fronts during the First World War, made it even more difficult to achieve improvements.

In the Second Constitutional Period, the Minister of Public Education, Emrullah Efendi, wanted to carry out radical reforms, starting with the Darülfünun. He believed that this, the highest educational establishment in the Empire, should be reformed so that it could introduce science to the wider public. In his view, if a country's universities could be made perfect then its secondary and elementary schools would also become perfect. (36) This was in line with the so-called "Tuba ağacı nazariyesi"- the Tuba tree theory. (The tuba is a mythical tree with its roots in Paradise and its leaves in the Earth, bringing happiness and good fortune. There are countless instances like this in Turkish history of attempts to impose reform from the top down.)

In 1912 a new Act decreed five faculties for Darülfünun: Law, Medicine, Science, Literature, and Islamic Theology. During the First World War many German and Hungarian professors came to give lectures at the Darülfünun, but they met with a marked lack of success.

3.3.2. DECLINE OF THE DARÜLFÜNUN AND EARLY DISCUSSION ON THE IDEA OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The standard of education in Darülfünun became poorer and poorer. In World War I the situation became impossible. In 1915 Darülfünun had no students and had to be closed down for a year. But also in 1915 there was another development: İnas Darülfünunu (a women's university) was opened with three faculties: Literature, Natural Sciences, and Mathematics. The course there lasted three years and its first group of graduates numbered eighteen. In 1920 this university was amalgamated with Darülfünun.

Darülfünun was granted academic autonomy in 1919. This development, however, did not halt the decline of Darülfünun as the Empire was collapsing.

In the Constitutional period intellectuals began to analyze the nature of the educational system which could best serve their country. Political and intellectual leaders such as Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924), Prince Sabahattin (1877-1948), Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1937) and educators like Sadrettin Celal (1893-1954), Satı Bey (1880-1968) and Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978) developed new ideas and theoretical justifications for new methods and experiments in education.(37)

The reformists were headed by Ziya Gökalp, the founder of modern Turkish nationalism and one of the great Turkish intellectuals of modern times. (38) Atatürk claimed him as his intellectual "father" while Turcologists Uriel Heyd and Charles Warren Hostler refer to him as the first Turk to formulate a systematic theory of Turkish nationalism. (39)

Ziya Gökalp's educational background included both traditional Islamic and Western secular elements. (40) He began his education at the local school in Diyarbakır, then he attended a military rüşdiye and later the idadi, where as well as the traditional type of oriental education, he studied French. He continued his education in the Veterinary College in Istanbul. At the same time he was interested in Islamic classics and western thinkers, especially the sociologist, Émile Durkheim (1858-1917). Ziya Gökalp was interested in politics, poetry, sociology, history and education. (41) He believed that education, though responsible for creating the cleavage in society, could also resolve it. He made a strong plea for it to do so:

> "one portion of our nation is living in an ancient, another in a medieval, and a third in the modern age... How can we be a real nation without unifying this three-fold education?". (42)

Gökalp saw a distinction between teaching and training, holding that the two together constitute education. In his view, training was the process whereby the individual learns to live in his cultural environment teaching, on the other hand, was the process

by which individuals acquire scientific methods. "The purpose of education is the adaptation of the individual to his social and natural environment".

The following list, based on some of the information given by Akyüz in *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, summarizes Gökalp's main achievements and attitudes:

1. He was the first to include the teaching of sociology in a Turkish university.
2. He produced important books on education, culture and politics.
3. He was the first person to approach Turkish educational problems systematically.
4. He branded the products of the medreses and upper schools as harmful to Turkey and said that it was the lack of a national viewpoint in education that was to blame.
5. He drew attention to two distinct systems of education: the normal teaching methods and distance learning. (Now, many years later, these figure prominently in Turkey's latest education model.)
6. He tried to grapple with the problems teachers faced and also to heighten public esteem for the teaching profession.
7. He was the inspiration for Atatürk's policies of populism, nationalism, étatism, secularism, westernization, national education, the promotion of national history and culture,

purification and promotion of the Turkish language (even arguing that the call to prayer (the ezan) should be in Turkish not Arabic), and support for women's rights.

8. He wrote poems and stories for children to imbue them with a Turkish nationalist outlook from the earliest possible age.
9. He was the first person in Turkey to put forward a detailed concept of what a university should be. He held that the state should provide universities with essential facilities, grant them autonomy and not interfere with them, while students should be allowed to decide for themselves what lectures to attend.
10. He believed that the goal of teaching was to instruct young people in factual judgements and scientific knowledge, so the process of teaching should be international or universal rather than culture-bound within one nation and this should be borne in mind when developing a modern education system for Turkey, where education should have two aspects: national training and international or universal teaching. (43)

In the light of these considerations Gökalp felt that Turkey could utilize western education and civilisation while still retaining her own culture. The chief reason why Turkish education had been unsuccessful lay in the fact that it had neglected the realities of Turkish national culture, not only in the medreses but also in the modern schools. He was the first to emphasize the close

relationship that should exist between education and the total environment. His views helped create a conceptual base for modern Turkish education and were influential throughout the years following the establishment of the Republic.(44)

Many supporters of modern education in Turkey at that time were against Gökalp's ideas; they accused him of being individualistic and pro- western and at the same time too devoted to Turkish nationalist traditions. According to Sadrettin Celal, a proponent of modern education,

> "If Turkey's goal, as Gökalp says, is to familiarize the individual with value-judgements, the family and society have already achieved this end. The influence of the family and the society on education is constructive in countries already developed, but dangerously destructive in underdeveloped and rapidly developing societies... The first duty of educators in newly developing countries is to separate the influence of the family and society from that of the schools, and to lessen their relationship to one another. Traditions and institutions which are foundations for value-judgements are not logical and untouchable. These institutions were created out of necessity but came to be conservative and dominating. Times changed, but they did not. The pedagogue's duty is not to help harmful traditions to survive but to destroy them.(45)

Prince Sabahattin and Abdullah Cevdet had individualistic viewpoints and accepted Anglo-Saxon educational practices. They believed that:

> "...A path in education should be followed which would lead individuals to depend on themselves rather than on society. Happy individuals with self-initiative create a happy society."(46)

Satı Bey also favoured an individualistic approach. He established teacher training colleges that promoted his ideas. He believed in cultivating self-reliant individuals and felt that the goal of education should be the improvement of the abilities and faculties of the individual because all social developments in a society could be traced back to the psychological character of individuals who formed that society.(47) He believed that the best results could be attained through active, inventive and creative methods rather than learning through rote memory.

The traditional Islamic point of view in education was argued by such leaders as Abdurrahman Şeref who contended that:

> "Education is meant to help children attain careers through which they will find religious salvation can be attained only by obeying the divine laws of Islam...".(48)

In the constitutional era another important figure in the field of education was Ismail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978). According to him: "The reason why we could not develop was because of our borrowed education model". He asserted that the model of education must be creative and productive. Disagreement had arisen between Ziya Gökalp and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu mainly because the latter believed that education must be aimed at meeting the nation's need for productive manpower whereas Gökalp held that: "every nation's culture could form the goal for its own education".(49)

Most of the work done in the constitutional era was only theoretical and rooted in observation of the national situation. İsmail Mahir gave expression to frustration with the theoretical debates when he addressed the Assembly of Deputies in 1914:

> "At this slow pace, our educational system will not be established even within the next 150 years. I am proposing something which is similar to the things accomplished by other countries. We have seventy educational districts. In each province or district let us build, either on established farms or on government-owned land, two large elementary boarding schools, one for girls and one for boys. We can then recruit as pupils boys and girls from the villages, according to their population. In the school for girls, we can teach courses in weaving, cooking, sewing and poultry raising. for the boys, we can concentrate on teaching farming. Let us give them a four-year elementary education along these lines, and then provide three years of additonal education in teacher-training schools. One further year of practical or apprenticeship training would make eight years in all... The teachers will live like villagers, needing only a pair of shoes, home-woven woollens, and a villager's blanket to cover them at night..."(50)

M. Şekip (Tunç) and Ethem Nejat followed İsmail Mahir's ideas which were at the root of the Village Institutes that played an important part in Turkish education in the early years of the Republic.

3.3.3 GENERAL VIEW OF EDUCATION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The war of independence was a traumatic time for Turkey. Two thirds of the land was a battleground and one fifth of the population perished in the war. Hardly any educated people were left in the country and hospitals, schools, roads and harbours were all severely

affected. The one thing the people clung to was their 'old cultural tradition and accumulation of knowledge'.(51)

The areas subject to the Ankara Government, (this excluded İstanbul and İzmir; İstanbul was still under the sultanate and İzmir was under Greek occupation.) reportedly had the following educational provision:

PRIMARY SCHOOLS	: Between 2345 and 3495 (of which between 581 and 682 of them were closed)
PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS	: 3316 (1511 of them were not trained teachers)
SULTANİ (Secondary School)	: 5 (The education lasted 12 years)
SULTANİ VE İDADİ	: 32 (The education lasted 9 years)
TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS	: 13 (Training was 4 years)
NUMBER OF TEACHER TRAINEES	: 422
GIRLS TEACHER TR.SCHOOLS	: 4 (Training was 5 years)
NUMBER OF GIRL TEACHER TR.	: 314 (52)

Around half the teachers actually employed lacked the benefit of even primary education themselves.(53) The Parliamentary Report of the second session of the 86th meeting on 19 October 1920, quotes the Minister of Education, Dr. Rıza Nur as follows:

> There are 28 Sultani (secondary school) and a few of them are under occupation .There are 340 boarding and 2591 day students studying. The number of teachers and civil servants are 587 and

> the teacher /student ratio is 20. We have about 50-60 idadi also. The Primary Schools need at least 40 000 teachers today. (54)

This situation was not due only to the war. As emphasised earlier, the Ottomans lagged far behind the West with new developments and technology. There was no attempt to build a national education system and most educated and able people were from minority groups.

3.4. EDUCATION DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Following the defeat of Turkey in the First World War and her subsequent partial occupation by the Allies, Mustafa Kemal organised a resistance movement aimed at achieving the independence of a viable Turkish state. A successful War of Independence was fought and the Treaty of Sèvres became a dead letter. Thereafter the Treaty of Lausanne incorporated most of Kemal's conditions and Turkey became a Republic on 29 October 1923. Naturally, this time of profound change posed enormous problems for education in Turkey.

In May 1920 the new Ankara government created a Ministry of Education with Rıza Nur as its first Minister. But all the previous records, the supplies and the clerks were still in Istanbul. The Minister explained, "I do not need a secretary and we will do without an undersecretary. In place of the 200-man Board of Education in Istanbul I have created a board of only 21 members in Ankara and I

have not yet appointed six persons to the staff. I get up very early and come from very far and I do the work of the secretary and undersecretary myself". (55)

This first Ministry of Education in Ankara had four general directories, each having one head and two clerks. These administrative units dealt with primary education, secondary education, cultural affairs and statistics. Two other units completed the organization of the Ministry. These were a three-man Inspectorate and a seven-man Board of Curriculum Development.

The Ministry maintained the existing educational legislation and directives and the provisional Law on Primary Education of 1913 unchanged.

The main problem in Ankara was a financial one. The Ministry of Education did not have a separate budget and was not able to ask for any money because all the Ankara government's expenditure went straight into the war effort, leaving only trace amount for education. (56)

To pay the primary teachers' salaries was therefore a big problem. Secondary school teachers received their salaries from the fund of the central government funds. Primary teachers worked with no salary at all for as long as year.

During the War of Independence most schools were closed on account the hostilities or lack of money or in response to complaints that they were too traditional or that they were not religious enough. But the nationalists gave a further reason: "The schools which have not been closed are the medical and military schools. They remain open because they train professionals how to work. Most of our schools train only in theory and not in practice. That is why they are closed down". (57)

During 1921 a major effort was made to formulate the government's programme in education more precisely. On 15 July 1921 Mustafa Kemal returned from the battle front to address a congress of over 250 men and women teachers in Ankara. He said he wanted Turkey to develop its own national education system and in explaining what that meant he said he believed the education provided up till then had been responsible for the nation's backwardness, so now, when referring to a national education programme, he meant something completely different from the outdated beliefs and imported ideas that had no relation with Turkey's inherited characteristics and it would be far removed from all influences from the West and from the East and would conform to Turkey's own national and historical character. He continued saying: "Our national system of education should be something different from the old and something that grows out of our own nation."

Giving his views on what children and young people should be taught, he said, it was necessary to instil into them the need to fight against all foreign influences which were incompatible with the existence, rights and unity of Turkey and to defend national concepts to the end with force and self-sacrifice. He called teachers the worthy pioneers of Turkey's future national liberation. (58)

In brief the first government programme to adopt these views maintained:

1. Our children's education must be more religious and nationalistic.
2. Our children must become creative, self-reliant and productive.
3. We must revitalise our school and cultural institutions according to scientific and modern principles.
4. We must prepare new school books suited to our national spirit, and our historic, geographic and social character.
5. We must prepare a dictionary of the Turkish language, assembling words from the vernacular of the people.
6. We must translate the classics of the East and West.
7. We must identify and protect our ancient monuments.
8. But for the present our first responsibility is to administer well the existing schools." (59)

As Rıza Nur clearly explained, "Naturally we cannot do anything new now. Until we resolve our present difficulties we can only maintain the existing system.(60)

Although The National Education Congress had no immediate results, because of war, it had a very great impact on the later development of Turkish Education.

In 1921, the general budget was just over a million pounds (57.128,833 Lira) and the money allocated for education was 0.6% (390,412 Lira). In 1922 the general budget was 74,957,848 and the education budget was 1,136,046 Lira . So the percentage had risen to 1.5% and nearly doubled in 1923 to 2.8% (The general budget was 105,929,911 Lira and the education budget was 3,033,003 Lira).(61)

Aware of a desperate need, the Ankara government made big efforts to set up an adult education system during the war. Adult evening classes were offered in many cities and towns by the supporters of the Ankara government. The classes were mainly reading, writing and simple technical skills, but they constituted a sort of public dialogue to aid the process of creating a nation.

Although no census data were available for 1921, interpretation of the 1927 census implies that 98 per cent of villages were without formal educational facilities during the War of Independence.(62)

In retrospect it can be seen that the main developments in the educational field during this period were the Education Congress in Ankara in 1921, the increase in the number of teachers, and, also in 1921, the closure of foreign schools in territory under nationalist control.

While the new system was emerging, Atatürk was strongly emphasising the importance of the teacher in the development of the country when he addressed teachers in Bursa in 1922:

> 'Teachers! The victory won by our army only laid the groundwork for the victory to be won by our nation. The real victory will be won by you. I and all my friends will follow you with an absolute faith and will crash all the barriers you may encounter in your path.'

3.5. EDUCATION IN TURKISH REPUBLIC

On the 29th of October 1923 ,the new Turkish Republic was declared. The new Turkey adopted several democratising measures and strove to leap forward a century to try to catch up with the western democracies and industrial developments. The education aims expressed by Atatürk and his friends were one of the most important issues in this new revolutionary era. From 1923, the country experienced massive changes. On the education front primary education became compulsory for every pupil and would be carried out in the state schools. The education in religious schools (medrese and sıbyan mektepleri) was

completely separated from the state schools such as iptidai, idadi, sultani, rüşdiye and the western type of schools.

On March 3, 1924, The Law of Unification of Instruction (Tevhidi Tedrisat Kanunu) was passed. The Law provided that 'all educational institutions are to be placed under the control of the Ministry of Education.' With this law Turkey took one more step towards secularization. All the schools, including army and minority schools, came under the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

After the Tevhidi Tedrisat Law, the Ministry of Education ordered the closure of all the medreses. The government banned all the religious education in the foreign schools also. The abolition of the medreses began a new phase in Turkish education, in fact it was yet another step towards secularization. At the same time the Caliphate had been abolished, in 1927 the level of literacy was only 5% and those most of them who could read and write were from the minorities. (63)

The government invited foreign consultants and professors from all over the world to find script that suited the Turkish language better than the Arabic script. After a long search and discussions, on 9 August 1928 Atatürk introduced the new latinised Turkish alphabet to the country saying:

> 'We must free ourselves from these incomprehensible signs, that for centuries have held our minds in an iron vice... You must learn the new Turkish letters quickly....Regard it is a patriotic and national duty.' (64)

The alphabet reform was a new starting point for the whole nation. Atatürk himself travelled around the country encouraging people , in the field, at open air meetings and in the village halls. By the end of 1928, 5000 teachers had learned the new script and were teaching it to the others. There were adult classes and for every age groups as much as the state schools. The newspapers had started to write the headlines in the new alphabet.

In the following years the government started to concentrate on the secularization issue. The Constitution of 1937 declared that Turkey was a secular state.

3.5.1. PRIMARY EDUCATION

Great importance was attached to primary education in the Republican era. The young generation had to be instilled with the new concepts of secularism, republicanism and the reformism and get the rest of the population to accept these concepts.

The 1924 Constitution Article 87 stated that:

> All Turks, women and men, have a duty to undergo primary education. Primary education is free in the state schools.(65)

Because at that time so few Turks had received even primary education and the alphabet had been reformed, at the end of 1928 there were

5,000 instructors teaching the new alphabet to 220,000 people in classes for adults.(66)

However this constitutional requirement was very difficult to fulfil in a country that had no money, no teachers and other educational resources. The government published "İlkmektepler Talimatnamesi" (Regulations for Primary Schools) in 1929. The aim of this regulation was as much to make sure that children should be imbued with national feelings as to see that they learned to write and read with the new script. The length of primary education was set at five years in order to impart sufficient basic knowledge of important subjects, including such things as hygiene, especially to children in rural areas.

Equipment and resources were scarce in the first decade of the Republic, as the government could only allocate 1% of the national income for the primary education in 1938.(67) Education made slow progress in the villages, so in 1942 the GNA passed Law 4274 making villagers responsible for building schools and accommodation for the teachers. The young teachers who graduated from the Village Institutes benefited by this law. However the law was changed in 1951 and the state accepted all the responsibility for building schools. Mass education became successful with the introduction of *Eğitmens* (which will be discussed in section 3.5.3).

Although primary education was intended to last five years, in most villages it had to be completed in three because of the lack of

teachers and facilities. The primary schools were and still are directly under the control of the Ministry of Education and since 1949 local governors act as representatives of the Ministry of Education and local governors are assisted and advised by the Director of Education (Milli Eğitim Müdürü) who is employed by the Ministry of Education.

The teachers in the rural primary schools mostly teach the 7-12 age group. The schools in the big towns usually teach two separate sessions each day so that half their pupils have morning classes and the other half are taught in the afternoons. Average class sizes are over forty.

In 1923 there were 336,000 pupils in primary education, about forty years later this number reached 3,000,000 and in 1990-1991 the number was 6,861,722, vividly illustrating one of the main problems of Turkish education: keeping pace with rapid population growth. In 1973 the new "Milli Eğitim Kanunu" (The National Education Law) stated that there would be compulsory education for eight years from the age of 6 to 14. However this law did not apply until 1981-1982. By 1989-1990 there were 927 primary schools with 575,000 pupils and 21,080 teachers implementing this new model, leaving 51,169 schools with 7,191,027 pupils still carrying out the five-year programme. In 1991 was there were 51,055 primary schools, including 169 private primary schools preparing pupils for the competitive secondary schools with several hours of foreign language teaching, mostly English. Enrolments in 1994 were up to 97 per cent of those eligible.

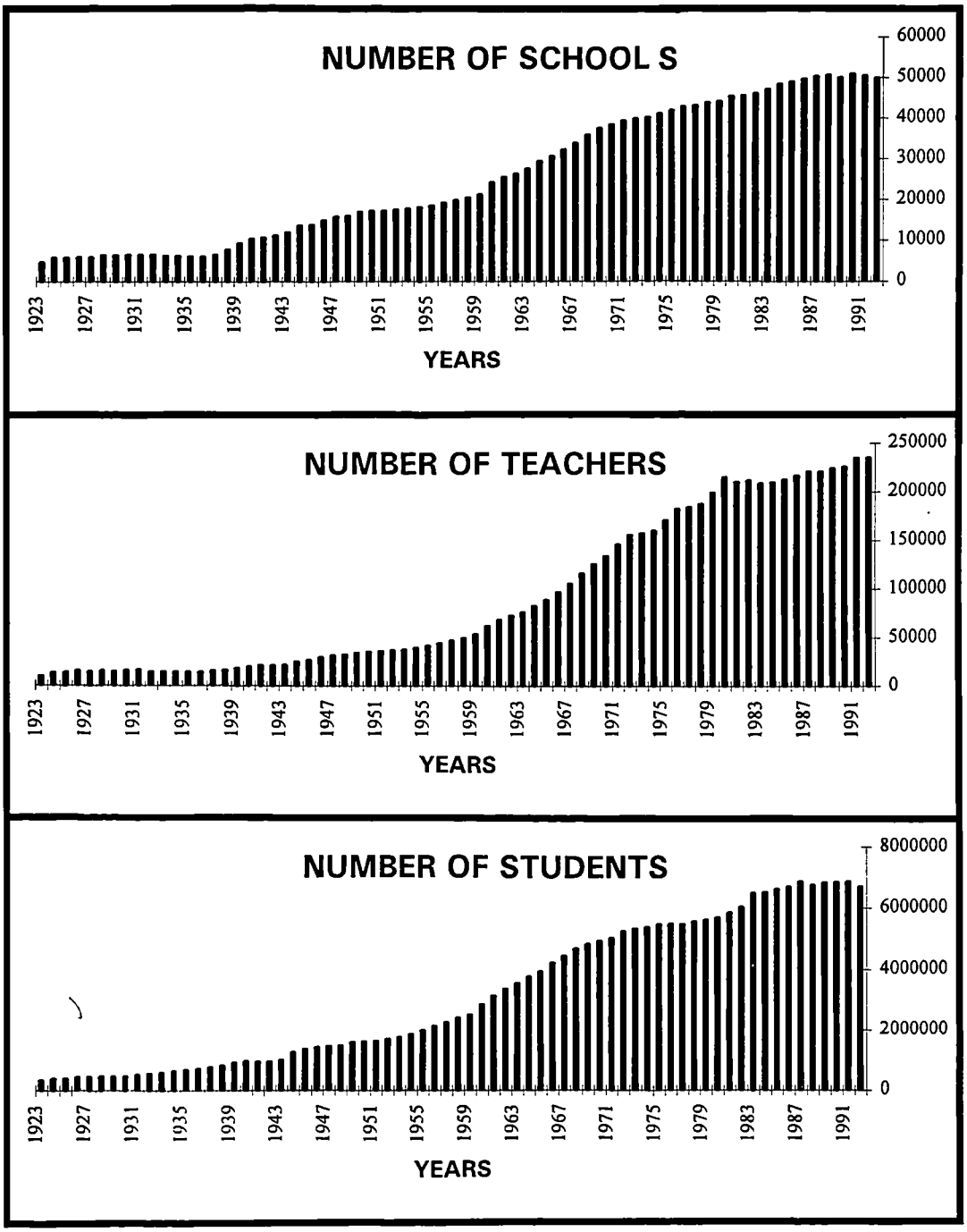

FIGURE 1. PRIMARY SCHOOLS (İLKOKULS)

3.5.2. SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education is divided into three different categories: ortaokuls, lises and vocational schools. Each of these categories are outlined below.

3.5.2.1 THE ORTAOKULS

The aim of the *ortaokul* is to give pupils a broad general education and make them to see the problems of the country in relationship to national history, culture and geography, so they teach civics as well as mathematics, natural sciences, home economics, handicrafts, agriculture and a foreign language. In 1923-24 there were 72 ortaokuls in the big cities called idadis and the number rose to 440 in 1950 and reached 1,290 in 1970. In 1991 there were 6,610 ortaokuls enrolling a total of 2,381,510 pupils. The 1930 Lise ve Ortaokullar Talimatnamesi (Regulation for Lises and Middle Schools) stated that there should be vocational and technical middle schools also. Vocational middle schools existed until 1963. Since then ortaokuls have become preparatory schools for lises and vocational lises. In the early years of the Republic the ortaokuls were usually established in the towns and cities and it was difficult for village children to attend them. After 1960, these schools spread down to big village level. New enrolments to ortaokuls were 68% of those eligible in 1994 and the state is aiming to increase this percentage to 80% in 1996.

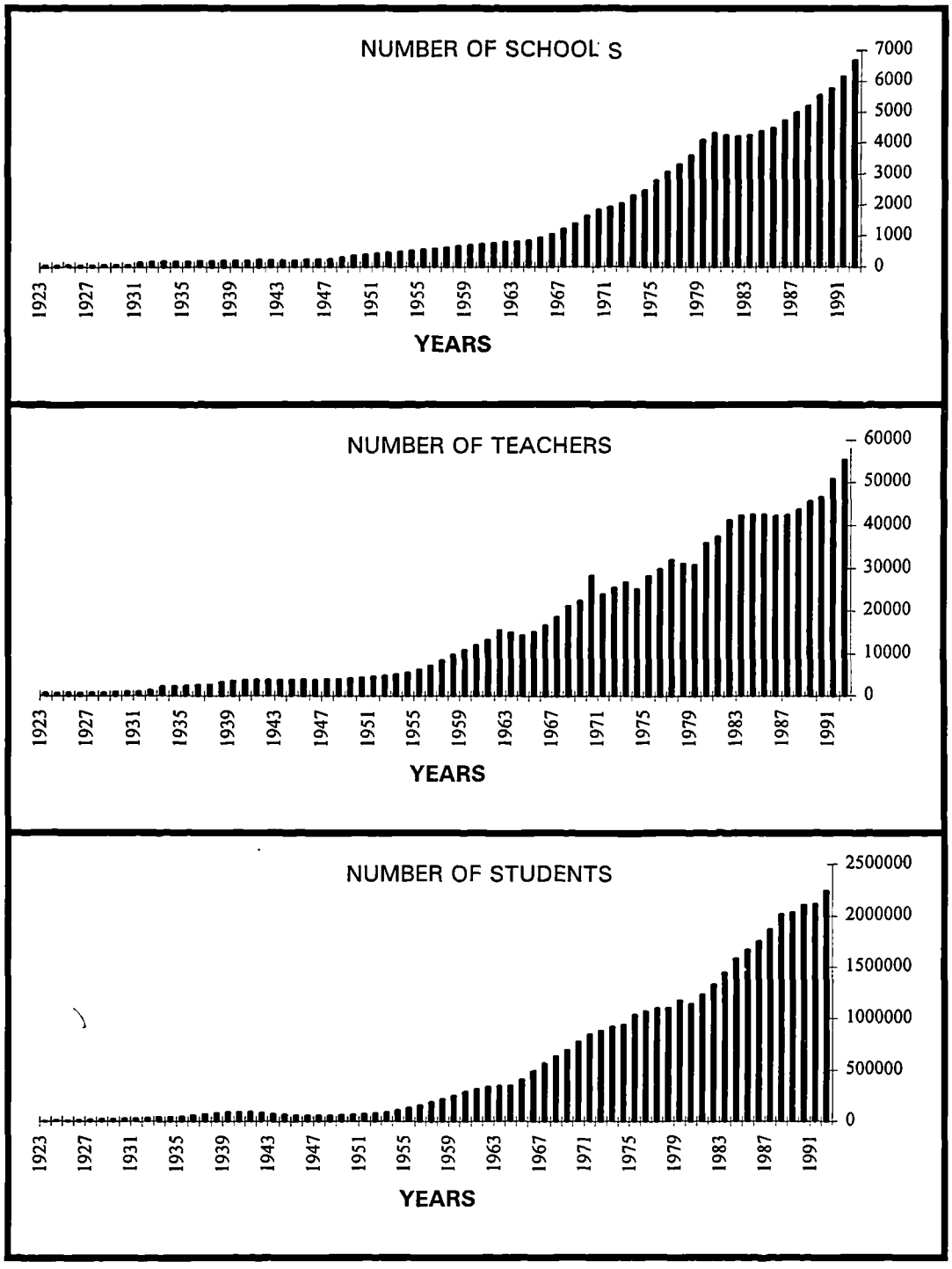

FIGURE 2. LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOLS (ORTAOKULS)

3.5.2.2 LISES

The lises were established as a continuation of the sultanis of the Ottoman era and took the name "lise" in place of sultanis in 1925. Until the 1950s lises were seen as elite schools attended mostly by the children of professionals and the wealthy as they were located in the big cities. Lise education is academic and prepares pupils for universities, their main aim being to give students a deeper knowledge of general culture, science and mathematics. The curriculum resembles that of their French counterparts on which they were modelled, so it is mostly academic. There were 23 sultanis in 1923-24 and by 1930-31 the number of lises totalled 57. This increased to 88 in 1949-50, rising to 194 in 1960-61 with the Democrat Party honouring its promise to increase their number throughout the country. Further progress took numbers to 1,108 in 1979-80. By 1990-91 there were 3,743 lises, vocational lises enrolling 1,426,632 pupils.

In 1975 the state established what were in effect "grammar schools" called Anadolu Lises for bright children. These offer seven years education from the age of 12. They aim to teach in a foreign language and they offer scholarships for children from less affluent families. The schools are spread throughout Anatolia (76 in 1990) and have boarding facilities. They attract an increasing number of children as they are very successful in gaining university places for their pupils. The state also established science oriented lises called "Fen Lisesi" for gifted children leaving ortaokuls. Education in these schools lasts three years. There were 13 schools all around the

country in 1991. As well as state schools there are private schools as well as international private schools at all levels. In 1989, there were 458 private Turkish schools and 89 minority schools offering full time education. The education in these schools is very competitive and expensive; their main aim is to prepare children from well-off families for the most desirable universities.

The lise education was changed drastically four years ago (in 1991), allowing students to build up credits on a subject by subject basis at times of their own choosing instead of the final lise graduation examinations and the annual examinations in each subject. This new system allows lise students to complete their lise education in as short a time as two and a half years. There are no nation-wide lise examinations to measure to educational standards in the country as a whole.

In the last two decades lises have become stepping stones to universities. The main aim of the students who enter the lises is to get a place in higher education. This has to some extent undermined the importance of the lise education itself since it gives the impression to students that lise education is just a selection process for the universities. Since then the primary goal in lises has been to coach pupils for multiple choice questions. Private university preparatory courses have been also established and most students in lises start these courses as early as their first year.

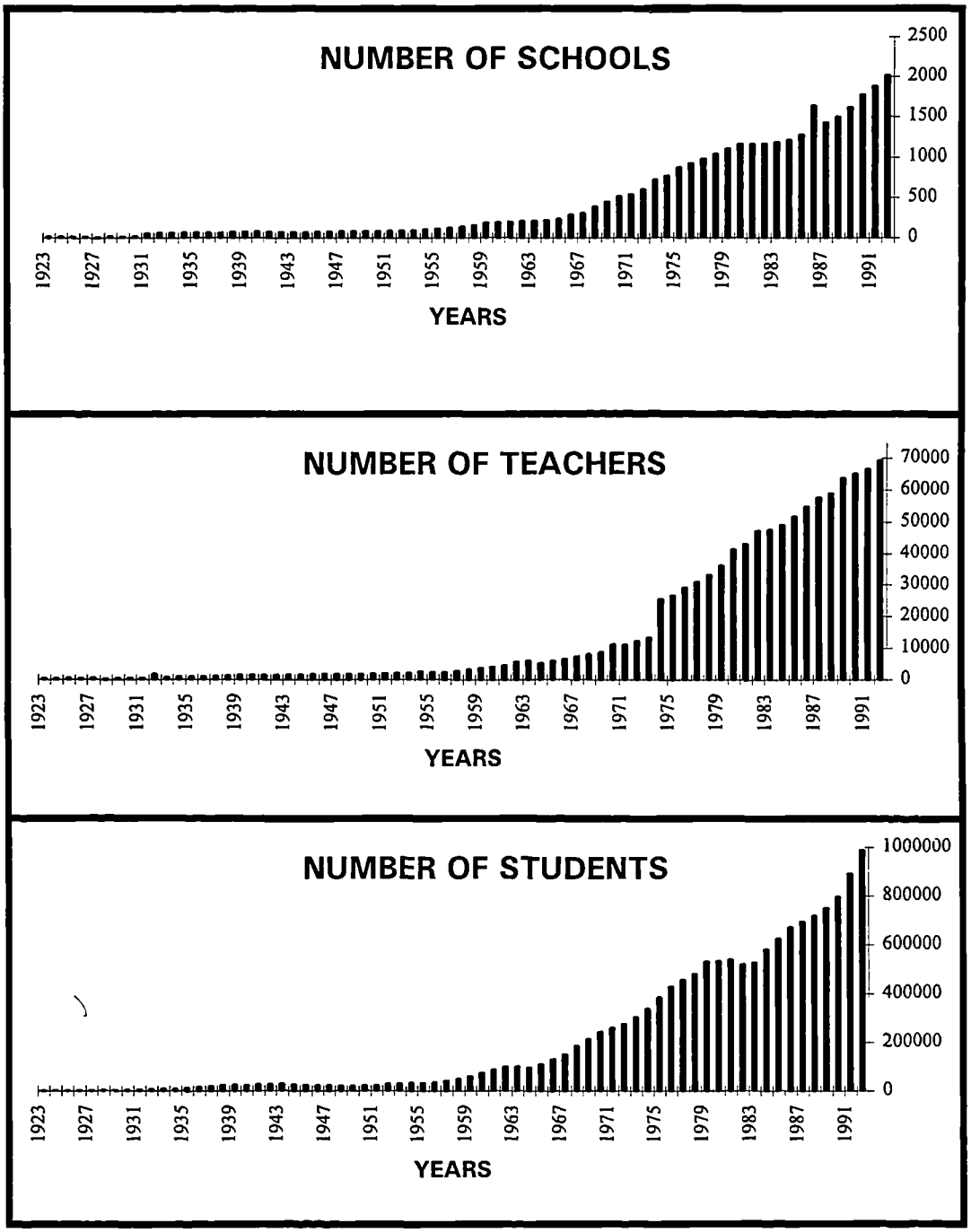

FIGURE 3. LİSES

3.5.2.3 VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Vocational schools were organized in the Ottoman era for various purposes from engineering to gun-making. In the Republic, up to 1927 vocational and technical schools were established under the local education authorities. Afterwards, these schools came under the control of the Ministry of Education. From 1934 onwards several vocational lises were opened. These included girls technical education (home economics, sewing, child minding), boys technical schools, agricultural lises, health education lises, teacher training lises, tourism and trade lises, a number of other technical and industrial lises and İmam Hatip Lises totalling 876 and enrolling 625,870 students in 1993-94 and amounting to 44% of all lises.

The fastest developing and most controversial vocational schools are the İmam Hatip Ortaokuls and lises. With the Unification Law of 1924 the medreses were closed and 26 İmam Hatip Schools were opened in order to educate imams and religious persons. But in 1930 -1931 the state stopped subsidizing these schools and they were closed. They were re-established in 1951 by the Democrat Party government to educate "aydın din adamı" (enlightened religious functionaries). At first they were four-year primary schools. In 1954 a further three-year ortaokul course was offered thus providing a total of seven years for such pupils. Later in 1971-72, the imam hatip schools started to take students from the age of twelve who had completed primary education. The schools then became İmam Hatip Lises with a seven-year education programme. Their curriculum comprises 45% religious

education - reciting the Koran, Arabic and theology - and 55% general ortaokul and lise studies. The students are usually from the rural areas and mostly come from the poor family backgrounds. Since 1963-64 these schools have offered free board. In 1965 the government widened the range of a job opportunities for the graduates of the İmam Hatip Schools. In 1973 the RPP-NSP coalition government classified İmam Hatip Lises as main-stream schools (Temel Eğitim Okulu) which meant that their graduates would be able to sit the university examinations from 1976 onwards. However the graduates from the İmam Hatip Schools are not admitted to military schools. As Kaya states, allowing these students to enter university has made these schools more popular than ever as their students were mostly from the rural background.(68) The dramatic growth of these schools from 7 in 1951 to 876 in 1993 is clearly shown in the table below:

YEARS	*NUMBER OF SCHOOLS*	*NUMBER OF STUDENTS*
1951-52	7	876
1961-62	19	4,200
1978-79	506	148,690
1979-80	588	178,013
1980-81	707	201,004
1981-82	710	216,864
1982-83	715	219,931
1983-84	715	220,991
1984-85	716	228,973
1985-86	717	238,025
1986-87	717	249,863
1987-88	718	257,038
1988-89	733	267,478
1989-90	749	282,761
1990-91	765	310,215
1991-92	796	347,276 (69)
1993-94(70)	876	625,870

TABLE 1. İMAM HATİP SCHOOLS

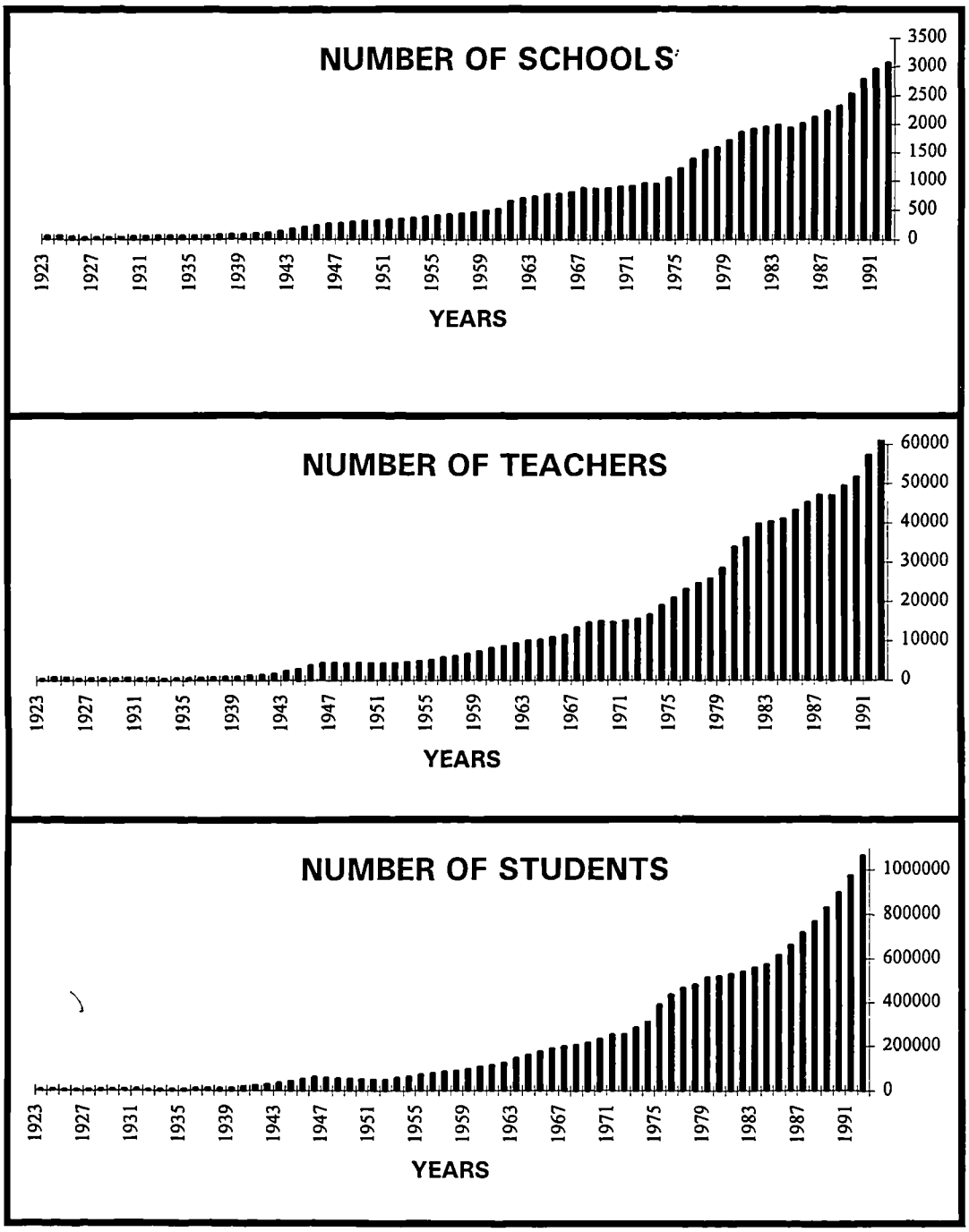

FIGURE 4. VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Primary teacher training schools were another form of vocational school which also had students from rural parts of the country. These were established early in the Republican era. After the abolition of village institutes, two types of teacher training colleges developed. The first, İlköğretmen Okulu, was for primary school teachers. These gave six-year courses to students who had completed primary school and three-year courses to ortaokul graduates. In 1973 the Basic National Education Law (Temel Eğitim Kanunu 1973/1739) ruled that all teachers should be graduates of higher education institutes, and in order to achieve that the Ministry of Education opened 50 Institutes of Education which accepted the students who had graduated from the old teacher training schools. These Institutes of Education became the subject of fierce controversy from 1974 onwards as they became hotbeds of intense political factionalism. Many of their students were pushed through and given their diplomas after a mere few weeks. In 1979-80 the numbers of these Institutes were reduced to 15 and they took students who had passed university entrance examinations.

Another major development in the Republican era was the introduction of Köy Enstitüleri, Village Institutes. As they played an important role in the Turkish education system they are worth looking at in some detail.

3.5.3. VILLAGE INSTITUTES - KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ-

In 1936 there were 35,000 villages without a teacher and some 300-350 new teachers graduated. According to Saffet Arıkan, Minister of Education, the republic would be able to send teachers to all villages in a hundred years' time.(71)

İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, General Director for Primary Education 1940-1950, saw that the problems of development in the country could only be solved by educating the villagers. The Ministry drew up an education programme for the villages. It was very simple. To tackle illiteracy selected sergeants and corporals in the army, who in many cases had been taught to read and write in the army, were given six-month courses to enable them to go back to their own villages and teach reading and writing as village teachers (eğitmen). A young man who had finished his army service and teacher training courses could go to his own village not only to teach but also to have a small farm and get seeds from the Ministry of Agriculture to grow crops for the school. His salary would be less than that of other teachers. Because he was from the village, other villagers would not think of him as a 'gravatlı efendi' - gentleman with a tie - but as one of themselves who had come to help them.(72)

They experimented with these ideas in Eskişehir's Mahmudiye village and the outcome was a big success.

By 1940, 90% of the rural population was still illiterate. The scheme to train village teachers stimulated new ideas about educating villagers. Again in 1940, the Village Institutes Law (Köy Enstitüleri Kuruluşu Kanunu) proposed by Hasan Ali Yücel, the education minister, and İsmail Tonguç, was passed by the Grand National Assembly.

The village teacher's task was to teach basic hygiene, health, reading and writing, agriculture, including the breeding of farm animals, handicrafts, woodwork, carpentery and bricklaying. In other words they had to try to raise the all-round standards of the villages. In theory the students to be selected for training as village teachers had to have completed five years' basic education and be eager to learn and teach new concepts to their villages. In practice not all villages were keen to send their children to the Village Institutes, regarding them as "infidel institutions", so in some villages only children from very poor families were sent and in others the gendarmerie had to persuade villagers to send children.

In 1940, the year the law was passed introducing these Village Institutes, 14 new institutes opened and enrolled 4,933 boys and 438 girls, making a total 5,371 students) under 234 instructors.(73) The course lasted five years and was conducted under difficult conditions as there were no buildings and the teachers and students together had to build their own institutes. The institutes were all mixed, a bold decision since the presence of both girls and boys in the same institutes provoked fierce criticism even from many RPP members.

Mahmut Makal, a writer who was educated in one of these institutes in İvriz near Konya, described his difficult years there as follows:

> In the winters, we used to have three months of lectures: eight hours a day. In the other nine months we worked like slaves, our faces and hands covered with mortar made out of lime and sand. In three years 25 huge buildings were brought into existence just with student labour. Don't think I'm against hard work! We grew thin because up to midday we just had four olives and then our main meal was dry bulgur. We had a very poor library. We were children from the villages who could not read properly yet, and when we got a book we had no time to read it.(74)

As that extract indicates, the five years' elementary school education the students were supposed to have completed before entering the Village Institutes was more imaginary than real. Most village institute graduates said that although they were supposed to do five years elementary education they could not because of the demands of heavy farm work in their village with no tractors or combine harvesters. So anyone sixteen years old who had done three years of basic education was likely to have a certificate stating that they had completed their elementary education. This was especially true of girls; they were seldom kept on at school and often their parents married them off at a very early age. It should also be borne in mind that not many villages then had schools and those that did offered very rudimentary education.

To attract students to the Village Institutes, the instructors (muallims) went out to villages singing and performing folk-dances. But sometimes these attractions backfired and actually deterred the villagers.

Conditions in the institutes were tough but the children from villages were already accustomed to harsh lives and stood up well to the experience and worked hard. They were instilled with love of their country (previously they had not really thought of themselves as Turks but as Muslims) and taught to work hard in difficult conditions. In 1944 the Village Institutes started to train peripatetic health officials (sağlık memuru) as well as village teachers.

Later, the Village Institutes set up regional schools in the middle of some 8-15 villages to teach children from the area. There were 380 of these regional schools by 1945.

The Village Institute project was improving in 1942-43 and a 'higher village institute' was built in Hasanoğlan, outside Ankara, where a three-year course was provided to train bright students from other institutes to become the "brains" of those institutes. The lecturers came from Ankara University and teaching included Turkish history and literature, pedagogy, art and machine maintenance. From the date of its foundation this institute attracted a storm of criticism from the elite of the People's Republican party as well as from conservative religious people.

The main accusation was that the graduates from Hasanoğlan would later go to the Village Institutes which were built around other villages and teach their inhabitants communism because as well as practical lectures on agriculture they also taught world classics such as Dostoyevski or Tolstoy. In fact, however, some of the teachers, far

from being under communist influence, had actually previously been sent to the USA in 1932-33 to do research into village education, and the Americans sold to the Ministry of Education at a very low price some land and a building for the first Village Institute at Kızılçullu where their own agricultural college was situated.(75)

The fact that the institutes were co-educational provoked further opposition. The conservative and religious villagers were persuaded that if they sent their children - regardless of whether they were male or female - they would lose their chastity through mixing together. In fact the stories spread by the politicians and newspapers were so effective that although the number of female students had risen to 1475 in 1943-44, it declined to 706 in 1951-52.

Tonguç, the founder of the institutes, and his friends had a slogan: "Education in work, through work, for work!" (iş içinde, iş aracılığıyla, iş için eğitim).(76) They started to believe that their dreams were being realised despite the opposition, and they thought the problem of elementary education would be overcome by 1960 through the work of the village institutes. However, the country entered the multi-party period in 1945 and thereafter the institutes came under increasingly intense debate in parliament. In 1947 the RPP government carried out certain reforms on the village institutes and changed their methods from practical work to passive learning.(77)

After that the institutes' main aim of inculcating Kemalist principles, instilling national pride and culture together with a

Western outlook was abandoned, and in 1954 the Democrat Party turned them into elementary school teacher training colleges.

The essential idea underlying the concept of of the village institutes was that the villagers themselves should provide the personnel who would train and educate their fellow villagers and give them a modern outlook. This was an idealistic concept, relying on the villagers to stay in their villages and thus provide a continuing service in contrast to the long tradition of short-term appointments of people from outside who were usually eager to leave for the cities at the first opportunity. The outsiders see themselves as coming from a superior culture and look down upon the villagers. Some MPs, even from the RPP which had established the village institutes, felt threatened by the prospect of villagers rapidly advancing and competing with them for positions. In 1943, Emin Sazak, a land-owning, RPP MP, declared, "If we don't destroy these institutes, we're done for."(78)

Some of the opposition came from a number of men who had themselves earlier established the institutes. Emin Soysal, for example, had established the institute at Kızılçullu, but motivated by dislike for İsmail Tonguç, he attacked the institutes in his speeches.(79) Especially in the Democrat Party era the most common criticism levelled at the institutes was that they "were hotbeds of communism and atheism".(80)

3.5.4. THE IMPACT OF THE VILLAGE INSTITUTES

The impact of the village institutes can be seen not just in the Turkish education system but also in political, social and cultural life. By 1952 a total of 21 village institutes had trained 17,341 teachers and 1,348 health officials. Each teacher over the years educated thousands of students. Today there are several prominent writers who were educated in and inspired by the village institutes and they have proclaimed their views on democratic education to millions of readers throughout the country. The institutes were instrumental in bringing the new Republic's ideas to the villages and they strove to solve rural problems. Some graduates of these village institutes eventually became MPs, and almost every profession had among its ranks others who had themselves been to the Village Institutes or had been taught by graduates of those institutes.

The village institutes were the first institutions in Turkey to address the problem of educating the rural masses and overcoming illiteracy.

Professor Tanilli gave the following explanation for the RPP's changing stance towards the institutes, first establishing them and later wrecking them:

> In the 1930s Turkey adopted an étatist development plan even though it was on a capitalist base and the aim of the plan was to strengthen capitalists... The government put land reform on their agenda and tried to solve the problem of elementary education in order to eliminate the pre-capitalist relationships in the rural

> regions... However these two important issues were taken up in different years, the former in 1940 and the latter in 1945. Although İnönü declared in 1937, 'I will totally eradicate the the fraudulent landowners (toprak ağası)', he was unable to do so. Thus the institutes were established in an environment where "the stones were secured but the dogs were left free to roam and to bite" [an expression used to indicate taking inappropriate action that will bring about the result it is officially intended to prevent]... So opposition to the institutes came not only from the landowners, religious leaders and usurers but also from the petit bourgeoisie, intellectuals and bureaucrats who flourished under etatism in the second world war period in Turkey... The institutes were the establishments that could oppose exploitation... In short, the village institutes were condemned to destruction by the logic of class development. (80)

Today in the rural areas every village knows somebody who was educated in the institutes and later became a successful lecturer, lawyer, writer or politician. The institutes contributed to the progressive ideas in Turkey today. They persuaded many village children that they could succeed in the professions as well as children from the cities.

Another important mass education enterprise was The People's Houses, Halk Evleri. These were cultural centres which the RPP established in the cities in 1932 and then spread to provincial towns. Their aim was to provide for adults a wide range of educational activities from basic literacy to foreign languages, and at the same time promote Turkish culture and folklore. They had branches called People's Rooms (Halk Odaları) in the villages to teach the villagers literacy and literature. By 1947 they had issued 67,000 certificates to adults. In 1947 these establishments were banned from activities since it was claimed that they promoted Russian ideas.

3.5.5. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE UNDER THE REPUBLIC

Modern Turkey was constructed on the remains of the old Ottoman empire. The focus of its values, culture and society shifted from the Empire to the Republic, which introduced *laicism* in place of the *şeriat*, and changed society from a religious *ümmet* to a nation state (*toplum*).

Although, the regime was changed from a monarchy to republic, most of the country in Anatolia was still living in the medieval period; the economy was based on primitive farming and most villages were largely self-sufficient. At the same time, the long wars had made the country very poor. Since large numbers of young men had perished in the wars, the majority of surviving inhabitants were illiterate old men, women and children. The country in general had no big industry nor capital to build one. In order to boost the country's development, the new republican government adopted liberal economic policies to support and improve private enterprises in the country as agreed at the 1923 İzmir Economic Congress.

Educated manpower, even in İstanbul, was in desperately short supply at the beginning of the Republican era. There was no infrastructure; capital accumulation was far too small to build an industrial base and private enterprises. As a result, liberal economic policies could not succeed under purely private enterprise. The state had to take over and strong étatist policies were adopted in 1932.(81) It tried to develop large-scale industry through state economic enterprises as

well encourage small scale private enterprise. Although the state was at the centre of economic development, it did not choose to follow a socialist or communist model but aimed to establish a Western-European style of liberal economy in Turkey. Under state patronage the economy then grew by 7% each year. At this time an elite class of military officers, teachers, lawyers and bureaucrats were emerged and, they became very influential in country's future.

Education in this era was seen as an "effective factor which accelerated economic development"(82) with educated manpower showing a considerable increase. Schools spread from big cities to the small towns and, helped by village institutes and new teachers, they became "multi-purpose development agents".(83)

From 1945 onwards, the government started to pay more attention to the problems of modernizing rural Turkey. A Land Reform Act was passed in 1945 (but this was never implemented). Technological developments were given priority in the villages.

These measures were insufficient to gain the favour of the people in rural areas, and since they formed the majority of the population it was not surprising that the introduction of the multi-party system in 1946 revealed the unpopular of the RPP, which had introduced taxes on villagers in World War 2 and forced peasants to build schools in their villages.

This unpopularity grew until in 1950. The party that had held power from the birth of the Republic was voted out of office and replaced by the Democrat Party, which won 408 seats while the RPP gained only 69. The DP favoured private, rather than state, enterprise and was also perceived as being more favourably disposed towards Islam. Ardent Kemalists accused the DP of being willing to renege on Atatürk's reforms, fearing in particular that religious movements would attempt to suppress Turkey's infant democracy. But the DP realized that its policies would win the support of the rural and religious elements in the electorate. Geoffrey Lewis describes the popular desire to oust the Republican People's Party as follows:

> The commercial class, enlarged and enriched by Turkey's wartime neutrality, wanted more outlets for their capital than state socialism allowed. The wealthy landowners had been alarmed by the creation of the Village Institutes in 1940 and were still alarmed in 1945 by a law distributing land to landless peasants... The peasants, for their part, were resentful at İnönü's use of forced labour to build village schools. Labouring men, suffering from inflated prices and forbidden by law to strike, were ready to support any party strong enough to challenge the government... The fanatically religious were, as ever, watchful of a chance to undo the Kemalist reform. (84)

The DP was assisted in its endeavours to break away from the tradition of the étatist elite political system because help from the USA under the Marshall Aid Plan allowed the country to start buying farming equipment, build roads to the provinces and open small manufacturing industries. As a result of these changes in the industrial and political spheres, conditions in the country at large also underwent a transformation. New roads and easier lives for farmers as a result of

modern agricultural equipment brought the rural population into closer contact with the larger cities.

The population rose rapidly while the new agricultural methods required fewer farm workers, so the migration from rural to urban areas rose from trickle to a torrent. One motive was to gain access to better education. The Democrat Party's more relaxed and populist attitude towards the farmers and religious people had emboldened the migrants to settle in the suburbs of the big cities. At the same time more and more rich farmers, small town traders merchants, religious sheiks and some populist democrats, who had been in RPP, moved to the Democrat Party. But this adopted liberal mixed market economic policies without any plan. New roads and dams were given priorities while education was seen as a less important "toplumsal bir hizmet" (community service).(85) The attitude was "we don't need plans but pilaf" (Pilaf is a common rice dish in Turkey).(86)

The new private enterprise system changed the big cities and created a new job market. They were not only short of an educated work force but also of workers for the small manufacturing industries, the construction industry and service industry. Naturally as 80% of population lived in rural areas the new job market accelerated the migration from villages to the cities. One of the main aims of the migrants was to seek a better life not only for themselves but also for their children. 'I would even sell my jacket to send my children to school' became a slogan amongst the villagers who moved to the cities and joined the cheap labour force in the service and assembly

sector. Naturally they wanted their children to become civil servants, doctors, lawyers and engineers.

In the second half of the 1950s, the DP government faced growing economic and the social problems. A series of poor harvests added to the country's acute financial problems. The government eventually lost control and in 1960 the military took over. In 1961 a new Constitution opened a new era in Turkey with a mixed economy, planned development and the possibility of state intervention in private enterprise under Article 39.

The State Planning Organization (DPT) was established in 1960 and the first long term plan was published in 1963. However, the plans, especially in education, were not successful as they were not flexible and did not anticipate the demographic and technological developments or the high inflation rates.

None of the dramatic changes that occurred stopped voters supporting the Justice Party (JP) which was seen as the heir to the banned Democrat Party. Geoffrey Lewis's comment is worth noting:

> The Justice Party would give them what Democrat Party had given them: surcease from the RPP line that they were primitive, brutish, and superstitious blots on the new Turkey, who needed to be civilized, i.e., westernized. They were tired of feeling "... a stranger and afraid/ In a world I never made". (87)

As a result of the continuing industrialization and the JP's populist politics urban migration carried on and increasing numbers of people

started to live in *gecekondus* in and around the big cities like Ankara, İstanbul, Adana, İzmir. At this time some left wing developments occurred: the Turkish Labour Party, which was founded in 1961, got fifteen members into parliament in 1965 (but the number fell to two in 1969); a number of workers, with the help of some intellectuals and the Turkish Labour Party, founded a confederation of revolutionary trades unions, DİSK, in 1967; the left started to find increasing support amongst students in the universities and even in the lises. Among those who played an active role in the left-wing groups were the graduates of the village institutes, most of whom later carried on their education in the universities. Most of them prided themselves on being democratic and patriotic.

In their desire to make Turkey a developed capitalist society the government, which was facing severe problems due to inflation and growing unemployment, gave every encouragement to big business. In a bid to gain and retain votes they also protected religious and nationalist movements.

On 12 March 1971 the military 'coup by communique' ended the hopes of those who wanted a full-blooded revolution. As a consequence of the change of government and restrictions introduced at this time, the Turkish left wing, which had taken full advantage of the 1961 democratic constitution, suffered a severe setback. In particular, many of their young followers had been killed or imprisoned during the troubles, they had antagonised the public and had thereby given a boost to religious and nationalist movements. However the military

did not close the parliament, and the general election on 14 October 1973 gave the RPP the greatest number of seats, 185, though that was not sufficient for an outright majority. They formed a surprising coalition with the National Salvation Party, a party that was eager to increase Islamic influence. This government enjoyed a surge of popularity following the July 1974 intervention in Cyprus, but this faded as economic difficulties mounted and political problems grew with the resumption of left and right wing terrorism. Between 1975 and the end of 1977 the country was ruled by a succession of right-wing National Front coalition governments headed by Demirel.

In the October 1977 general election, the RPP under the leadership of Ecevit gained 213 seats and, supported by the independents, formed a new government which lasted until December 1979. While the economy sank to a very low level at this time, anarchy rose to its highest peak.

The Ecevit government, unable to overcome the economic crisis, to obtain sufficient international funding or control the anarchy into which the country was descending, resigned in October 1979 and was replaced on 12 November 1979 by Demirel with his minority government, which this time did not include the National Salvation Party or the Nationalist Action Party. Immediately after this new government took office, the killing and attacks by right wing nationalists and students on academics, judges and civil servants increased. At this time, the police were also divided and killing one another, while many workers were on a long strike. The army once again took over on

12 September 1980 to stop the chaos which the country was in. It closed down the parliament and curbed the activities of the right and left wing politicians, intellectuals, bureaucrats, students, trade unions, and societies.

Profound social, economic and political changes are still continuing in Turkey. The country is still seeking an identity and trying to stabilize democracy, while religious movements are growing apace and urban migration has brought rural attitudes to the big cities. Meanwhile, education, especially higher education, is seen as the only solution to social and economic problems will be seen in following chapters.

3.5.6. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC

In the field of education one of the developments in the early Republican period that has subsequently caused the most profound repercussions was the abolition of religious education in the schools. Up until 1930 the amount of religious education in the primary schools was reduced slowly as the government did not wish to antagonise the people, most of whom still held strong religious beliefs. In 1930, the new primary school curriculum did not include religious education at all, thereby abolishing religious education from those schools. In 1949, however, the RPP, sensitive to the hostility this abolition had provoked among religious people whose votes they would soon be seeking, reintroduced religious education as an extra-curricular

subject until 1930. After that it was removed from the curriculum. In 1950 the Democrat Party was at the centre of the growing discussion about the religious education in secondary education as the party made a pre-election promise to the public about religious schools and education. In 1955-56 religious education was added to the curriculum for 12-15 year olds. Moral education was added as a compulsory lesson for the ortaokuls in 1974-75 by the RPP-NSP coalition. In 1982-83 moral and religious education was combined and added to the curriculum to take two hours a week.

Religious education in the lises was again a subject of intense debate. The subject was not in the lise and vocational lise curriculum until 1967-68. But that year the JP government added it on a voluntary basis. "Moral education" became compulsory in lises in 1974-75, and in 1982-83 "moral and religious education" became a compulsory subject for one hour each week in every year of the lise course.

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CHAPTER 4

TURKISH UNIVERSITIES BEFORE YÖK

4.1. THE NEED FOR UNIVERSITY REFORM

As discussed in chapter 3, a westernized, educated elite had appeared in Turkey at the end of the nineteenth century and the Ottoman university, Darülfünun, was at its best during the First World War when a large number of German professors were appointed as members of staff alongside Turkish intellectuals such as Ziya Gökalp and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu. Appointments to the University were made formally by the Sultan through the Ministry of Education, and the Darülfünun enjoyed limited autonomy. After the war, in 1918 and 1919, the German professors went back to their country, and university underwent big shake up. (The German professors as well as Gökalp and Baltacıoğlu subsequently played a key role in the establishment of the Turkish education system in the new Republic.) The Darülfünun was granted academic autonomy in 1919.(1)

Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the government recognised the old Ottoman university, Darülfünun, as a legal entity and changed its name to "İstanbul Darülfünun".

The new republic attached great importance to the Darülfünun. The Minister of Education was its ex officio head and the rector was chosen by the Ministry of Education from two candidates elected by the teaching staff and appointed for a period of three years. The Darülfünun's decision-making body was its Senate and this had academic, administrative and adjudicatorial authority. The Minister of Education's duties were only symbolic. Hamdullah Suphi, the first Minister of Education, said on a visit to Darülfünun:

> ...the people, who built the Republic, are expecting you to educate the republicans.(2)

Mustafa Necati, Minister of Education 1925-29, was very much against intrusion into university affairs. Necati and his friends argued that 'autonomy was essential to the university'.(3)

The expectations from Darülfünun were very high. Reşit Galip, the Minister of Education in 1932-33, saw the Darülfünun as 'a symbol of civilization and it should not be left in a primitive state'.(4)

The government of the young Republic tried to interfere as little as possible in the university and to improve its facilities and financial resources and increased staff salaries.

However, Darülfünun was more conservative and not interested in recent developments. Indeed, when the new Turkish alphabet was

adopted in 1928 the Darülfünun disregarded this and carried on using Arabic script.

Darülfünun was self-governing, the academics elected their deans, and the rector and council of professors appointed new professors. There were hardly any ties between the government and the University.

In spite of all the attention it received and all the high hopes pinned upon it, the Darülfünun could not match these expectations. After 1930, it became one of the most criticised institutions in Turkey and had press campaigns waged against it. In 1931 the Republican People's Party called for reform in the university. In the education budget in the Grand National Assembly enough funding was made available to employ a European expert on higher education. The same year, Atatürk visited the Darülfünun and found the students very poor in their knowledge of general culture and history and recommended Reşit Galip, the Education Minister, 'to consider the situation and act upon it'.(5)

In 1932,the Minister Reşit Galip, invited Professor Malche from Switzerland. After his four-month investigation he submitted his highly influential report to the Ministry. According to him there was no academic cooperation in the faculties; the lecturers were not doing any research but just teaching; theses were just translations; the lecturers were not taking their duties seriously

because their low salaries obliged them to take on private work outside the university.(6)

4.2. 1933 UNIVERSITY REFORM

After Malche's report something had to be done. In May 1933, Law number 2252 abolished the Darülfünun. In July same year, the Grand National Assembly authorised the Ministry of Education to establish Istanbul University to replace the Darülfünun. (This was the first time in Turkey that any educational institution bore the title of 'university' and this was intended to symbolize the break with the Darülfünun's tradition of very conservative and largely religious education.)(7)

Under the new reform:

1. Autonomy was removed and the university was established under the Ministry of Education
2. Most members of academic staff were dismissed. Only 59 out of 151 were retained. The gaps were filled by German or other European professors who were fleeing from the Nazis.
3. These professors were expected to train Turkish lecturers and establish the natural and applied sciences and research.(8)

In accordance with the new reform, the Rector was to be appointed by the Head of State on the recommendation of the Minister of Education, and the deans were to be appointed by the Minister of Education on the recommendation of the Rector.(9) In other words,

the university had lost its autonomy. Lectures and research started to be under strict control.(10)

The new staff for the contemporary university of İstanbul came again from Germany and had fled from the Nazi regime from 1933 onwards. The valuable work done by the German professors soon made the University an important centre of learning and research.

The new republic saw the importance of education as the country needed to plan for rapid development. There were no technical or administrative personnel to create a modern republic. In 1935 the National Education Programme of the Republican People's Party (RPP) emphasised the importance of opening new *lises* and increased number of universities.(11)

However the condition of the country made the implementation of the plan slower than expected. In Ankara, the Faculty of Language History and Geography was founded in 1935 under the same law. This and a number of other faculties subsequently formed Ankara University which was formally established in 1946.(12)

Atatürk attached great importance to the higher learning institutions outside İstanbul. Indeed he named the Faculty of Language, History and Geography. In a speech in the Grand National Assembly in 1937 he emphasised the future of higher education institutions:

> We should consider the country in three big cultural regions; the reform plan that has just started in İstanbul for the west, can be carried out more fundamentally in the central region in Ankara and should be established as soon as possible to provide a modern institution. For the eastern region, we should begin to carry out a plan to create a modern, cultural city on the best shore of Lake Van. And each region would include educational institutions from elementary schools to universities. (13)

After 1933, both the population and the demand for university places increased. In about ten years, the number of students tripled in İstanbul University but the number of lecturers increased by only 17%. In a report sent to the Ministry of Education in 1939, the Rector of Istanbul University, Cemil Bilsel, proposed that while the deficiencies of the university were being made good, administrative and financial authority should be granted to the university and legal changes should be made to ensure professors were given the rewards, dignity and status that would keep them loyal to the university. (14)

In the transitional period after 1933, the universities had what the government regarded as "temporary administration" (geçici yönetim biçimi) and in fact did not have a special law but were governed by 63 paragraphs of regulations prepared by the Council of Ministers. (15)

4.3. THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AND UNIVERSITIES

In 1946 Turkey adopted a multi-party system, and as the universities were not matching the country's expectations, a Higher Education Law, law number 4936, was passed and implemented in 1946. It brought big changes into Turkish higher education, the most important being the autonomy that it granted to the universities. The main provisions of the law were:

- The universities were again granted autonomy and recognised as legal entities.

- The duties of the universities were listed in detail. These included:

a. to educate students as enlightened, sound-thinking, citizens with an academic understanding, loyal to the principles of the Turkish reforms, imbued with patriotic feeling, and to produce good personnel for various professions.
b. to conduct academic research, giving priority to national problems.
c. in collaboration with government authorities, to aid national development.
d. to publish research results and to train Ph.D. students.
e. to disseminate scientific data that would raise the level of society. (16)

Although the 1946 Universities Law granted very considerable autonomy to the universities, it also placed them under the supervision of the government. For example, Article 14 explicitly stated that the Minister of Education was "the head of the universities" and in this capacity he was accorded supervisory powers on behalf of the government. The same article made it clear that he was to exercise this supervisory authority by presiding over the meeting of the Inter-Universities Board, by demanding from the universities any information and explanations he desired with regard to university affairs and by his power to ratify the resolutions and policies adopted by the governing bodies of the universities.(17) The 1946 University Law remained in force until 1973 - longer than any other university law in Turkish history.

Among other things, this law brought together the various higher education institutions in Ankara that had been independent - the Hukuk Mektebi (Law School), Fen Fakültesi (Science Faculty), Dil- Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi (Faculty of Languages, History and Geography), Ziraat Enstitüsü (Agriculture Institute) - to form Ankara University.

The law came into effect at the same time that the country entered into the new era of a 'multi-party' system. Thereafter, as seen in Chapter 3, Turkey started to change rapidly. In 1951 the Peoples' Houses, 'Halkevleri' were closed down and their assets handed to the treasury. In 1952 religious instruction was added to the activities of the Village Institutes. Doors were then opened to foreign investment. The farmers were given what they wanted in order to keep

their support for the Democrat Party. In 1954, the Village Institutes were closed down; for a long time they had been the target of fierce criticism from reactionaries.

As universities were the only elite institutions not under government control at that time they started to protest and became involved in the political conflicts against the government. At the same time, political affiliation and group interests rather than intellectual merit and qualifications started to play an important role in the universities. Universities became increasingly politicised and political partisanship started to put university autonomy in jeopardy. (18)

The conflict between government and universities grew, the autonomous universities increasingly opposing government policy while the government reacted by blaming university autonomy for the problems. University autonomy was not, however, the reason for the problems in universities. The universities were merely reflecting the general unrest in the country arising from the social and economic changes due to the government's policy towards free enterprise, opening the doors of the country to foreign capital, and the massive migration from villages to cities. In this turbulent situation the universities began to make increasing demands as they strove to assert their place in the new democratic order just as western universities had previously done.

Within the universities staff shortages imposed severe limits on the number of students that could be admitted. Moreover financial constraints ruled out nearly all research activities.

4.4. THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES

The social, economic and political changes affected the demand for education in general. In the secondary school sector, the number of ortaokuls went up from 381 in 1949-1950 to 715 in 1959-60 and from 88 in 1949-50 to 190 in 1959-60 for lise. At university level, new universities were opened outside Ankara and Istanbul to provide the country with an educated work force. These were the Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon, Ege University in İzmir and Atatürk University in Erzurum. At the same time two new universities were established in Ankara: Hacettepe University and Ortadoğu Teknik University (the Middle East Technical University - METU). (The conception of METU dates back to 1954, when the United Nations Organisation was concerned about training architects and urban planners in the Middle East. The university was established in Ankara to meet those needs by attracting students from all over the Middle East. The law establishing the University was passed by the GNA in 1957. It provided for a structure different from those of the other universities. There were to be nine independent boards of trustees appointed by the council of ministers. The trustees were the final authority over all university matters and they appointed the rector for a three-year period. The staff was appointed on a contractual

basis, first for one year, then for two years and then for three years and five years. The university was funded by international organizations (UN, CENTO) and private foundations notably the Ford Foundation. There were a great many foreign visiting staff as the teaching language was English. In 1966 for example 107 out of 504 were from outside Turkey. This caused several problems amongst the Turkish staff. It also resulted in a large number of students being sent abroad to get their Ph.D.s. There was a shortage of senior staff. In 1966 there were 397 Turkish staff members, 12 were professors, 10 associate professors 77 assistant professors and the rest were instructors, graduate assistants and part-time instructors in the university. Of the 107 foreigners 4 were professors, one an associate professor, 5 were assistants and the rest were instructors. The rector, although the final authority was Board of Trustees, had all the power in his hands for internal affairs. The idea was that the university should be an American type of institution but later on the staff became vehemently anti-American. (19)

Similarly Atatürk University in Eastern Turkey was attached to the Ministry of Education. It too started with an American grant and had an advisory council whose members came from outside the university but this never worked well. (20)

4.5. THE NEW CONSTITUTION 1961

The government economic policy was almost failed and opposed by the universities and other democratic institutions

On 27 May 1960 the Armed Forces moved in and the government was dissolved. Under the new regime university professors were called upon to help draft a new constitution. This was accepted in a national referendum and it came into force on 31 May 1961. For the first time university autonomy was enshrined in the constitution (Article 120). The Article states:

> The universities may be established only by the state and are public corporate bodies enjoying academic and administrative autonomy. They are administered and supervised by bodies consisting of qualified members of the teaching staff elected from among themselves. Neither these bodies nor any member of the teaching staff may be removed from office by authorities other than the universities. University teachers may join political parties but may not assume executive functions outside the central organizations of political parties. (21)

The new rights gave universities more flexibility to engage politics freely while facing fierce opposition from governments and public.

4.6. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEMAND AND PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION

After 1960 the number of lises rose rapidly throughout the country and the graduates from secondary schools were unable to find a place in the universities (Figure 3, page 106). The universities could not cope with the pressure they were under; they had neither the staff nor

the space to meet the demand. Potential students saw higher education as a means of achieving higher social and economic status through qualifying for higher paid jobs. Many male students had the further incentive of qualifying to do their military service as officers - a right given to university graduates.

In order to ease the situation, in 1965 the coalition government granted some business executives permission to open private higher education institutions in the subjects which were in great demand. These subjects such as pharmacy, business studies, engineering, architecture and dentistry, were needed for the development of the small towns to change their face into the city.

By 1967 there were nineteen private colleges in existence teaching many subjects, including engineering, pharmacy, architecture, business studies and dentistry, all of which were heavily oversubscribed in the state universities. The private colleges were in a sense institutions created to meet young people's demands for diplomas. The teaching staff came from the state universities and spent more and more time at the private establishments to earn more money and meanwhile neglecting their main functions in the state universities. The main demand from students was a diploma. By helping them to obtain it the teaching staff were helping the less able students who could not get a place in state university but could pay for tuition and get diploma. The quality of the education was low and some students were working during the day and studying at night.

Nevertheless, the students were content; because they could get their diploma they could join the army as officers instead of as soldiers. The professors were content because they were earning more money and enjoying being wanted. There was no planning to educate or train manpower according to the needs of society.

These higher education colleges had been set up to cater for the increased demand from students graduating from the increased number of lises that been opened in that period. Most of them had no chance of getting into the state universities but if they could afford to pay they could find places in the private institutions. Problems arose because these private higher education institutes were not educating students to meet the needs of society but merely giving them information to learn by heart in order to get through the examinations. The courses they offered were ideal for the children of tradesmen, wealthy farmers and middle class city businessman. After doing these courses they could become pharmacists, dentists, accountants, or architects or their parents could open a business for them easily in the provincial towns and they could be different from other people while helping to build small enterprise in their town.

The need for such private higher education institutions became a matter of fierce debate. Many people regarded the development as further evidence that the government was pandering to private business interests. Kaya, however, took the view that they met a genuine need. With their closure, he maintained, entrance to university was mostly limited to the richer students who could prepare for the entrance

examinations either by taking special courses or by engaging private teachers'.(22)

When, in 1971, the Turkish Supreme Court decreed that the private colleges were unconstitutional all the private higher education institutions were nationalized.

4.7. DISTURBANCES IN THE UNIVERSITIES

The social and economic changes of the 1950s affected universities in the West and resulted in student demonstrations that spread rapidly throughout the world and brought increasing chaos to Turkish universities. By the end of the 1960s tension in society had risen dramatically. At first Turkish students demanded basic rights but their actions soon turned into a political contest and the universities became the battleground for a left - right wing struggle.

By 1968, the conditions of economic and social life in Turkey had become grim. Inflation was very high and the liberal and what Dodd called 'rightist' Justice Party government led by Demirel seemed not to be doing enough to improve the conditions.(23) It appeared to neglect the most important problem areas and invest money in less urgent projects.

Students, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, faced an uncertain future after graduation, so they started to protest and demand a better

future for themselves. They succeeded in enlisting the support of their lecturers in this cause. Soon, what had started as innocent demonstrations and protests against their own situation were transformed into more ambitious attempts to change economic conditions in the country at large. The elitist attitudes acquired from their university education led the students and the academics to think they could achieve this and some of them were emboldened by the support the Workers Party gave in parliament for the rights of left wing activities. There were also extreme right wing movements growing up in the universities, especially against the Marxist approach. Nationalist movements pledged to protect their country from communism. To this end they were eager to offer their services to the nation. The government, fearing that the situation might lead them to the same fate as the Democrat Party had experienced in 1960, was quite happy to accept their help and hope that they would restore the balance. As early as 1965 the nationalist movements had started to train youths from provincial towns with poor backgrounds in special para-military camps. (24)

The protests spread to the streets and even bank robberies committed by political extremists became everyday occurrences. The universities themselves became battlegrounds. Rumours spread around the country that lecturers were helping the students to hide guns imported from outside the country, probably from communist. At the same time the nationalist movements obtained guns and assistance from Arab sources. (25) As the universities had autonomy, the police could not enter university premises without a special invitation. None of the

lecturers in the universities could have been happy with the state to which their institutions had sunk.

On 12 March 1971, the army delivered an ultimatum to the government and, as a result of what became known as this 'coup by Memorandum', Demirel and his government felt obliged to resign. A new government under Nihat Erim made some changes to the 1961 constitution. Under these changes the universities lost their administrative autonomy in September 1971 but kept their academic autonomy. This meant that the police could enter university premises to conduct legal investigations. Moreover, the Council of Ministers was empowered to take over any university or other higher education institutes if there was any disruption of teaching or threat to freedom within them. The paragraph in the 1961 constitution that allowed university staff to join political parties was removed, the implication being that they were henceforth banned from party membership.

Other amendments altered some of the other liberal elements in the 1961 constitution, by ending the autonomy of the Radio and TV authority (TRT), curtailing the freedom of the press and the right of civil servants to set up unions.

In 1971 also the private higher education colleges were nationalised. These institutions - some of them were called academies - increased the number of students at this level though they did not have status or the privileges the universities had. They were administered by the Ministry of Education. '(26) Not all their staff had even bachelors'

degrees, but generally they relied heavily on part-time teachers from the universities. They awarded degrees, carried out research, and had an academic hierarchy similar to the universities.

There were also teacher training colleges attached to the Ministry of Education. They did not carry out any research and their aim was to train teachers and to give them vocational certificates. These institutions were highly political and their administrative staff changed according to the government's political views.

4.8. THE UNIVERSITIES LAW OF 7 JULY 1973

Article 120 of the 1961 Constitution, as seen, dealt with the universities. It guaranteed them autonomy but gave the authorities the right to enter university premises and to deal with offences or offenders. Furthermore, a 1971 amendment to the Constitution gave the state a supervisory role in university government. It gave the Cabinet the legal right to take over the administration of any university where academic freedom was threatened! The government also gained the power to control universities closely and if necessary post members of academic staff from one university to another. However, academic staff could still not be dismissed except with the approval of the university senate unless the Cabinet had decreed that the university administration should be taken over.

The universities were in need of further reforms and in July 1973 a new university law, Law No. 1750 came into force against a background of heated debate. The main difference from the previous law was the introduction of a supreme governing body called Higher Education Council that was to be established by the Minister of Education and convened on his initiative. The chairman was also Minister of Education and the members were divided equally between the universities and the government. Each university had to choose a professor to serve as its representative for two years and the same number of civil servants was also appointed for two years by the Ministry of Education. This Council was responsible for:

1. Preparing a plan for the establishment of new higher education institutions

2. Reconsidering the draft legislation for the universities and the other higher education institutions.

3. Planning for extension of teaching in necessary fields, considering the capacity, facilities, manpower and physical needs and opening evening classes accordingly,

4. Facilitating coordination among the universities and other higher educational institutions,

5. Allocating research funds and research projects to the universities in accordance with the State Planning Plan.

6. Deciding the level of student fees.

The law also established two more higher education bodies. They were the University Inspection Committee and Inter-University Committee. The latter was to have considerable powers for planning, developing and co-ordinating higher education, but it never operated, since in 1975 it was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court, because it conflicted with Article 120 of the 1961 Constitution.

The main points of interest in the 1973 Law were:

1. the statement that universities were to:
    a. provide academic tuition at various levels.
    b. train students as sound-thinking educated patriotic people attached to the 'customs and traditions' of Turkey, and steeped in its history, and ready to take their places in the various professions which required higher education and specialism.
    c. to use in the most rational, effective, productive and economic way their own manpower and material resources to achieve the requirements of contemporary science and technology and the aims of the State Planning Organization.
    d. to conduct research and to co-operate with other national and international research projects.
    e. to play their part in national development by co-operating with official institutions.

f. to publish the results of research

g. to publish academic data of benefit to society.

2. Higher education was seen as a whole but only the universities were subject to this law.

3. A Universities Inspection Committee was established to foster collaboration, and an Inter-Universities Committee was also set up.

4. The normal length of courses was laid down as four years for all faculties apart from Medicine which was six years and a maximum of six and nine years respectively was allowed.

5. It regulated tuition and maintenance fees which students were to pay, but this aspect was later annulled by the Constitutional Court.

6. Faculties were to publish textbooks.

7. Universities' senates, councils and rectors were recognised. Rectors and members of senate were to be elected by fully fledged members of the university teaching staff. At faculty level, faculty boards and deans were recognised.(27)

Because 1 c above was held to infringe the autonomy of the universities, two universities brought an action before the Constitutional Court. The court annulled the council and the fees students had to pay and rescinded the new rules for assistantship appointments. It also deleted the words 'custom and tradition' from the article about educating students. The Court deemed the Council unconstitutional because it conflicted with Article 120 of the Constitution. The Court's decision did not allow the control which the Minister - and hence the government - wanted to exercise over the universities. Such powers would have increased the opportunities for any government to control the universities for its own partisan purposes and in accordance with its own outlook and ideology. This decision prevented the establishment of any supreme authority with executive powers to develop and implement a coherent national policy of higher education. Each university could henceforth follow a policy far different from the policies of the other universities and without regard for the consequences for the country as a whole. (28)

Immediately after the promulgation of the 1973 law, nine new universities were established throughout the country at Diyarbakır, Adana (Çukurova), Eskişehir (Anadolu), Sivas (Cumhuriyet), Malatya (İnönü), Elazığ (Fırat [Euphrates]), Samsun (19 Mayıs), Bursa (Uludağ), Konya (Selçuk). But the necessary staff were not appointed to teach in these universities.

The 1973 Law was considered a 'failure'.(29) Both this law and the council were heavily criticised by the university staff for laying the universities open to direct government interference.

4.9. DETERIORATION OF TURKISH UNIVERSITIES IN THE 1970S

Universities remained bereft of the resources they needed to perform their duties. The law did not bring about the reforms that Turkish higher education needed. The new universities were built in the less advanced regions of the country. They faced staff shortages, had inadequate buildings and lacked laboratories and hostels. The teaching staff shortages differed from university to university. Some universities had no staff at all. One university in Eastern Turkey had a single resident member on its academic staff and he was the rector himself.(30)

On the other hand, the big city universities were overcrowded. Every university had its own statutes and bye-laws which greatly differed from those of the others. The curricula, syllabuses, requirements for admission, the standard of teaching, and the amount of instruction received in a term all varied from university to university. Some fields of study had very few students, others were overcrowded. The money for research was not adequate; it varied from university to university.(31)

In the mid-1970s economic depression brought nation-wide violence. The Nationalist Action Party grew stronger, establishing their forces, most of whom were from traditional rural family backgrounds, in the newly opened provincial universities, teacher training colleges and the institutions attached to the Ministry of Education. Other movements to appear included the religious groups led by the National Salvation Party. The country was on the brink of civil war again.

The governments and the coalitions changed one after the other without making much difference to the situation at large but installing their own militants into every level of the state bureaucracy. The killings spread into small towns and provincial centres. One of the worst incidents occurred in Kahramanmaraş when 117 people were killed in December 1978.(32) On 25 December 1978 the government had to call upon the military to take over some provincial towns and impose martial law. Ecevit dismissed suggestions that this gave the Army too much influence, and praised what he described as the 'military with a smiling face' (*güler yüzlü ordu*).

Higher education could not escape from this deteriorating situation. The students, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, became polarised into far left and far right. Boycotts and violence interrupted education. Before 1980 the total number of days lost in various universities was:
Aegean University 116, University of İstanbul 421, University of

Ankara 1427. In 1979-80 the Black Sea Technical University Forestry Faculty and Hacettepe University Dental Faculty were closed down for a whole year. (33)

4.10. BLAME FOR THE DISTURBANCES

The blame for the disturbances cannot be attributed to the students alone. They could not see any future for themselves other than unemployment in a society which was in the throes of economic and social depression, and in which the administration was defective and the population had lost its confidence in the whole of the education system. University degrees, like the Turkish lira, were losing their value and were no longer a passport to a respectable job. The constant interruptions and curtailment of instruction prevented the universities from being genuine institutions of higher learning. In some instances students who should have received years of tuition had to be granted diplomas after courses that had totalled no more than a few months of actual teaching. The nature of the lectures given frequently depended on what the dominant political faction in a particular university would allow. (34)

In his book *Üniversite Üzerine*, Emre Kongar, who was a lecturer in Hacettepe University, summarised the situation in universities by saying that the universities at first gave society a very successful lead, being particularly effective in this respect in

the 1960s, but later the astonishing speed of Turkish development deprived universities of the flexibility needed to order their own affairs.(35) Later, the problems started to increase. The curricula failed to match the needs of society and the students were left alone. Teaching staff lost respect because of the ways their promotions were achieved. The students were also apprehensive and faced practical educational and organizational problems. Kongar blamed the institution itself for being passive:

> What were the universities doing in this situation to protect themselves? ... What were the universities doing to solve the country's problems? The answer was absolutely NOTHING! The universities were not actively guilty, as most people said, of anarchy and terrorism, or of provoking and supporting violence, but they were guilty of remaining passive... Indeed because they displayed a similar inability to keep pace with the situation they were exposed to the danger of control eventually being imposed from above."(36)]

As discussed in chapter 3, although westernization started in the 19th century it was not rooted in society. Most of the population still lived in the rural area and were peasants. Their social and political outlook did not change, first they were under Ottoman rule then under Republican rule, but they did not participate in either regime; their political, economic and social outlook was not affected until the multi-party system was introduced. Meanwhile industrial activities throughout the country increased significantly, and the building of new roads improved communications from west to east. As a result of these developments, cheap labour began to flow from the villages to the cities. This migration resulted in 'gecekondu' shanty areas

springing up around industrial cities. Consequently urbanization started earlier than planned and created increasing turmoil.

One of the main reasons for the anarchy, alongside the economic problems, was the rapid population increase as well as the sudden freedom which was created with the multi-party system. The people could join political parties, enjoy having different thoughts and ideas, and express their opinions in open debate. At the same time social, economic and even cultural differences amongst people living in the same city became wider and wider as the size of the cities grew. The desire to move up in a new "artificial" social structure was coupled to a very big demand for higher education. People with less education believed that higher education was the gateway to jobs and status for their children.

A consequence of this large demand for places was that entrance examinations became an even more difficult barrier to university entry. Only 10% of applicants could get a place in 1980. (The university entrance applications and enrolments will be looked at in Chapter 7.)

One of the main reason for the clamour for university places was the absence of job opportunities for young people entering the labour market straight from the lower secondary or secondary schools. Since state aid is not given to unemployed youths, university education became a necessity for anyone who wanted to get a job. But as the number of places was so limited, the young

unemployed of this rejected generation proved a fertile recruiting ground for groups that were working against the system.

The picture of higher education in Turkey at that time was confused by the proliferation of "faculties". The 19 universities then functioning had between them a total of 121 faculties, but in addition to these there were numerous other "faculties" (fakülte) or "high schools" (yüksek okul), all offering degrees of equal status to university degrees. But whereas the faculties in universities were in autonomous institutions, these other "faculties" and "high schools", 163 in total, were attached to "academies" under the direct control of the Ministry of Education. By 1980 there were 24 of these academies and their student numbers exceeded those of the universities. They were also more politicised than the universities.

(The Middle East Technical University [Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi] was in a different category. Unlike the other universities, it was under the control of the Ministry of Education.)

In 1978 there was an attempt to improve coordination and communication and reduce the differences between the higher education institutions. The new universities especially were suffering more from staff shortages and excessive new enrolments. Academics prepared a new draft higher education law that did not

remove autonomy from universities. The idea was to harmonize and coordinate the work of the universities.

This draft was presented to the Inter-university Council but was rejected by the GNA.

A further development was the establishment of an open university known as Mektupla Yüksek Öğretim (Higher Education by correspondence) in 1974, which became Yay-Kur (Yaygın Yüksek Öğretim) in 1975-76. This had 19,795 students by 1978-79 and was prevented from enrolling students in 1979-80 as its graduates were not able to find any employment.

Bearing in mind all the political, social and economical problems that led up to the 1980 coup, it is not surprising that the coup had a major impact upon the education system as a whole and on the universities in particular.

4.11. 1980 AND THE MILITARY TAKEOVER

Turkey was without a president after March 1980 because the political parties would not agree to support any of the possible candidates. Meanwhile terror raged and the country was sinking into chaos. Even the bureaucrats were in turmoil because the rapid change of the coalitions in the governments affected civil servants

also. The ordinary people were frightened to go out in case they were accidentally shot.

To call a halt to this situation and end the threat of a catastrophic civil war the military wing of the National Security Council, on the strength of Article 35 of Law 211, which requires the armed forces to act when the constitutional Republic is in jeopardy, ordered the Army to take over the running of the country and close Parliament, which had become paralysed and unable to rule. On 12 September 1980 the army intervened. As Dodd states:

> The military are not to be blamed if they came to believe that the politicians could not, as well as would not, do anything effective about the situation.(37))

The army intervention was greeted with relief by the people in the street who welcomed action to halt the violence.

The armed forces took over the government, closed down the parties and arrested the party leaders, Demirel, Ecevit, Erbakan and Türkeş. Evren, the senior military figure, announced that the National Security Council would be in charge of the country. The military promised the people a new constitution, new political parties and a better democracy. Soon they announced the new government, banned all strikes and political activities within the universities and unions, and all the affiliated societies and clubs in order to restore peace in the country. The workers on strike had a 70% pay rise (14 september 1980). The press was censored, some

newspapers were closed, and some authors were sentenced to several years of imprisonment.

Meanwhile, Turkish Armed forces in their Communique Number 6 indicated that if they had not intervened the economic, social and political problems and crises would have threatened Turkey's existence and the country might have become 'the slave of perverted ideologies'.(38)

4.12. UNIVERSITIES IN 1980-81

The universities and the students were once more blamed for the anarchy in the country. The public this time had no sympathy for the universities. In fact, even ordinary people who had children at university believed that the universities should not be left in a position to control their own affairs or those of the state (as they had after the 1960 coup when professors drew up the new draft constitution).

General Evren, in his first public speech on the day of the coup, heavily criticised the 'autonomous and constitutional institutions' (meaning the universities, state radio and the television and the higher courts) and blamed them for the anarchy and violence. He added that the universities were responsible 'for the dissemination of "foreign and perverse" ideologies among the youth.(39) In those days, "hotbeds of anarchy" was a politically loaded term used to

describe universities. However there was no proof that professors incited their students to engage in political violence. Although members of the universities, especially students, were involved in violent clashes - in fact after the army takeover five students were hanged - political violence in the universities was no more than a reflection of the general atmosphere in the country at large.

Yet the violence was not only in the autonomous universities but also in the higher education institutes which were under the control of the Ministry of Education.

The military regime banned almost all political and social activities in the universities and maintained that the only functions of a university should be teaching and learning. The new government decreed in a nation-wide edict at the beginning of the new term:

> Students will study, teachers will teach, and political discussions are forbidden by the martial law authorities. (40)

After this strong message from the military government, the new academic year started rather quietly. It was as if someone had 'pushed a button on the day of the military coup'.(41)

As ever, the universities were still criticised for being more involved in political affairs than in educational matters. From the President downwards people were clamouring for swift changes in higher education policy. The new National Security Council's aim was to place university administration under close state supervision. Autonomy for universities was seen as the main problem.

The new military rulers initiated a series of measures intended to cure the widespread malaise in the country. Prominent among these measures was the reform of higher education. This was urgently needed, as like the rest of the country, the universities had sunk into chaos. Ege University, for example, had been without a rector for four months; it was proving as difficult to elect a candidate for this post as it was to agree on a new prime minister.

Overall, the universities needed further reform, from student intake to longer hours for the teaching staff, as professors were only teaching four to eight hours a week and the assistants were not allowed to teach. The demand for the university places was so high because the future of many young students depended on the examinations they took at the end of their secondary schooling. Places were available to only 10% of applicants. So the solution had to be either more places in the existing universities or opening new ones. Some educationalists were against increasing the number of students. For example, Demiroğlu, the rector of the Aegean University, believed that there could not be university

education for all.(42) Also the rector of İstanbul Technical University considered 'increasing the capacity of the universities to be less important than improving the quality of the education given'.(43) In the same article, the rector of Istanbul University, the largest university in the country, said that even if capacities were increased they would still not meet the demand. (44)

The new government wanted a comprehensive solution to settle all these problems:

1. The differences between universities, academies, and other institutes of higher education (yüksek okul).
2. State control over university administration
3. The anarchy that even determined whether or not lectures would be given
4. The need for more student places
5. The numbers of teaching staff and flexibility of their terms of service
6. The number of universities
7. The nature of the contemporary university.

The country needed a practical well-balanced higher education reform that could help Turkish education come into line with western education. It was clear to all that changes in university structure and administration were essential. The existing higher

education system was incapable of producing students with a humane, tolerant, scientific and intellectual outlook.

The task of preparing a blueprint for a new higher education system in Turkey was entrusted to Professor İhsan Doğramacı.

In 1981, Professor Doğramacı, who had been working in Paris since 1971, was appointed to prepare a new law for Turkish higher education.

İhsan Doğramacı was born in 1915, the son of a well-to-do family whose fortunes were rooted in the oil-rich provinces of northern Iraq (then part of the Ottoman Empire). He graduated from the Istanbul School of Medicine in 1938 and went on to become a professor of medicine in 1955. He rose to prominence both in Turkey and on the international scene. He is a member of the German and French Academies of Medicine and since 1976 has been Turkey's chief delegate to the World Health Assembly. In the 1960s his great achievement was the establishment of Hacettepe University, led by its medical school. He consolidated this success by making Hacettepe Medical School the best in the country, and the University as a whole soon grew in reputation and influence. The Medical School is the best faculty in Hacettepe University. Doğramacı remains the Head of Hacettepe University Foundation, which is engaged in a multitude of commercial activities and has its own big financial group.(45)

In an interview with the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet he described what happened:

> In 1971 we prepared a draft called 'Draft of a proposed Law for the Associate universities'. In this draft there was a body called 'the Higher Education Council'. This council had little authority because it was limited by the provisions of Article 120 of the constitution. Higher Education Law number 1750 came into effect and the Higher Education Council was formed... But the Constitutional Court annulled this Council because the head of the Council was the Minister of Education. So discussions were resumed. Kemal Karhan and I had prepared a draft roughly similar to Law number 2547, which was based on an English model. Again there was a Higher Education Council, but all the academic and administrative work was done by the university. The universities were given an authority that even European universities did not have. University senates were authorised to prepare every kind of regulation and send them to the Official Gazette.... In 1981,Necdet Üruğ [Secretary-General of the National Security Council] asked us to draft a Higher Education Law. One weekend I came from Paris. Kemal Karhan and I had prepared the text already. Karhan, Yusuf Vardar and I modified new Law No. 2547 together... Apart from two articles added by the military authorities, these proposals were accepted exactly as we had wished. (The first of these two additional articles banned students from becoming members of any society or club without their rector's permission; the second banned university teachers from taking part in politics.) I mean the army did not have to apply any pressure. (46)

Most of Doğramacı's suggestions were incorporated into the new bill that subsequently became Law Number 2547, passed on 4 November 1981, and known as the Higher Education Law (Yüksek Öğretim Kanunu). İhsan Doğramacı was then appointed as the first head of YÖK for a period of four years. He was subsequently twice reappointed before resigning on 13 July 1992.

In addition to his duties relating to the application of the Higher Education Law, Professor Doğramacı was busy with the development of

an ultramodern paediatric centre and with Bilkent University, both of which were his own ideas. The latter was founded in 1985 as a private institution designed to attract the most intellectually gifted Turkish students and the best of staff. As will be noted in Chapter 5, fees and salaries are high but scholarships are awarded to the brightest students whatever their background. The University concentrates on science subjects and instruction is all in English, both to give students access to scientific studies in the West and also to attract fee-paying students from other parts of the world. (Doğramacı has links with influential Arabs and appreciates the valuable educational opportunities this University could offer to the region.) Bilkent University has become a source of controversy as it has been accused of damaging the Middle East Technical University in Ankara by luring away many members of their staff with the promise of higher salaries.

By April 1981, although the draft of the law had not yet been made public, speculation in the press and by university staff created a great storm of protest. The Minister of Health at that time was Professor Türkan Akyol. She and representatives of university teachers together with the heads of academies had a meeting at which they expressed total opposition to increases in teaching hours and to the appointment of special new university administrators. (47)

According to Professor Akyol,

> Universities would lose their administrative freedom completely under the proposed arrangements and would thus be 'utterly vulnerable to the whims of the parties in power'.

She added that:

> the new model could only be acceptable for a transition period; it became a permanent feature, academic respectability would be totally destroyed. (49)

Thus, keen discussion began even before the law was promulgated. The army and the government had wanted to ensure that life in the universities and other forms of higher education would never again be interrupted by party political strife and terrorism. Most academics, however, thought that the law was 'totally unacceptable' and they believed the new law's aim was to turn universities into 'instruments of the government'.

Despite all objections, the new law was accepted and published in the Official Gazette on 6 November 1981 thereby bringing extensive changes into the Turkish higher education system. Its results will become increasingly clear in future decades; so far it has succeeded in ridding the universities of terrorism as well as in pushing through a massive expansion of higher education.

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CHAPTER 5

THE 1981 HIGHER EDUCATION LAW AND CHANGES IN TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

5.1. YÖK AND THE LAW

There are numerous publications on the Higher Education Law, some of them fiercely critical, whereas others compare the law with the previous higher education law and express the positive sides of the new law.

The main aim in this chapter is to discuss the Higher Education Law with respect to autonomy and to concentrate on those areas of the law specially concerned with staff and students and the changes these brought to academic life. It notes the adverse and favourable criticisms made in the media, and by academics and various authorities and concludes by summarising the the negative and positive results of the law.

5.2. AUTONOMY AND THE LAW

As noted in Chapter 2, according to the Warnock's views on autonomy, the Turkish higher education institutions are not autonomous.

Articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 42 and 59 of the current law place power firmly in the hands of a centralized council, YÖK.

Article 4a(2) states:

> ..The aim of higher education is to educate students so that they will be in accord with national, ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish Nation and conscious of dignity of being a Turk.(1)

It can be argued that such nationalistic elements added to the aims of a normal university education limit academic freedom. The institutions are not left free to permit an atmosphere in which pluralistic thought can flourish.

Article 6(a) clearly puts all higher education institutes under the control of the Higher Education Council (YÖK). Before 1981, there were several different kinds of higher education institutions called academies, some of which were bigger than some universities. Despite their size, they were treated like second class higher education institutions (similar to British polytechnics). In one respect it was right to end these unnecessary differences: some of the academies had almost a full range of faculties and higher education schools. A similar change was made in Britain in 1991 when polytechnics were given the freedom to become universities and all higher education institutions were placed under a single funding authority.(2) In Turkey all the higher education institutions were placed under the

control of YÖK. The effect was to give even greater power over universities to this authoritarian council.

Upon examination the structure of the higher education system is seen to be pyramidal, with YÖK at the top having all the authority.

The council comprises a total of 24 members with Article 6(b):

> Eight members, the chairman and seven members (preferably people who have been university Rectors) chosen by the Head of State, plus the following who require the consent of the Head of State:
>
> Six members chosen by the council of ministers from 'outside' the university system
>
> One member chosen by the Chief of the General Staff
>
> Two members chosen by the Ministry of National Education
>
> Eight faculty members selected by the inter-university board "...having at least twenty five years of service in the academic field."

This list fails to have any member representing university lecturers or students. Moreover, under the terms of this law the Head of State and the government, through YÖK, have control over university administrative and faculty appointments. As can be seen, a considerable number of the members of YÖK are not actively involved in the universities themselves.

As we go lower down the pyramid, we find that even the rectors and deans are chosen by YÖK, again with the consent of the Head of State (Art.13, Art.16). University lecturers can only elect their faculty

board (Art.17). The faculty board consists of three professors, two doçents (associate professors) and one assistant doçent (lecturer). The Faculty Board works under the chairmanship of the dean, and the dean is chosen by YÖK. So YÖK's influence extends even to the bottom of the pyramid. As there is a highly hierarchical control in the university, it can be seen that YÖK deprives Turkish universities of administrative autonomy. Without administrative autonomy, academic freedom becomes questionable.

Article 7, concerns the functions of the YÖK. It puts all academic, administrative and financial powers under the control of the same council.

Professor Erdal İnönü, the leader of the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) between 1983-1993, criticised the effects of YÖK upon the university system in the following terms:

> There is no spirit in our universities. The desire to work, to research and to think independently, - these characteristics are lost. Independent thought has disappeared from the universities. If a university does not have academic autonomy it is like a bird with a broken wing. Whatever effort it makes it cannot fly.(3)

Later in 1985 as a party leader Professor İnönü promised that when they will be in the government they will change the YÖK and its law and the universities will be given their autonomy back.(4) (However Professor İnönü later became Deputy prime minister in 1991 and seemed to forget his promise to the universities)

The booklet published by YÖK on Higher Education in Turkey Yesterday and Today proudly declared that following a conference on International University Management attended by representatives of 18 OECD countries plus a number of others, Turkish universities, along with British and US universities, were found to have the greatest degree of autonomy. (5)

On the subject of state control of universities, the booklet stated:

> It is important to state that universities belong to the community. Therefore checking the extent to which they discharge their responsibilities towards the community is, as well as being a fundamental principle of university management, essential for the establishment of free academic environment. If that is not done oligarchic structures will be created within the universities and it will be impossible for the young and talented academics in particular to gain advancement and institutions of higher education will not be able to attend to the problems of our country or give more service to the community. (6)

Turkish professor, Nasuhoğlu described the system which is based on a "personal autocracy". He went to say that "even authoritarian states had some degree of autonomy in their universities". (7)

In 1984, Doğramacı redefined autonomy:

> In the world of today, the traditional elements of the autonomy of higher education institutions are under considerable and growing pressure .... If the straight question is put as to whether a university should be exempt from control, interference,

> or direction by any outside body, ... I can see no grounds for responding with an unqualified 'yes'. Universities are institutions with tasks to accomplish in research and in teaching. Their teaching staffs are normally appointed with specific duties and obligations which they neither are nor should be free to disregard. However, the individual teacher should, I suggest, be free, so far as possible, to judge how, in specific content and method, his duties should be discharged, and also - again within the limits of practicality - to choose what else to do in his field, beyond basic discharge of his stated duties.(8)

It can be assumed that Doğramacı was clearly pointing out that the academics were only to be allowed limited academic freedom in their teaching.

Tanilli criticized the law and YÖK for being 'centralist' and a 'uniform type' and stated that the philosophy of YÖK ... is seen to be:

> "extreme centralist, utmost authoritarian, interventionist and controlist". In this system, there is no administrative autonomy. Everything based on 'the chains of appointments' which includes the foreign units in the university. The more terrifying thing is,'academic freedom',which is the spirit of the university, has been completely wiped away. Because of that, the academic staff have lost their freedom. The 'method freedom' had been destroyed with the introduction of 'ideological restriction'. The builders of the system would not like to have the 'pluralist thought' in the university, which makes the university a real university, but they like to have 'uniform thought, uniform scientists, and single minded students'. In other words, they like to have 'the impossible'.(9)

Tanilli's point about uniformity is taken up by Güvenç in his 1990 paper:

> Academicians complain that YÖK has converted academia into bureaucratic organizations and scholars into clerks. Further

> state corporatism is reducing the hierarchy of institutions to their lowest common function (classroom teaching) rather than raising them to their highest common purpose (research and education). The State, on the other hand, stands firm that autonomy or pluralism, as defended by scholars, is a thing of the past, gone with a wind. Scholars must now come out of their ivory towers and face the realities of life. The State further claims that autonomous institutions of the past were indifferent to national problems and pursued their own purposes. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the state to see to it that academic autonomy is not interpreted as an oligarchic irresponsibility. (10)

And Doğramacı, the YÖK President, asserts the law and the work has been done under the law:

> ...The new reform law in no way hinders academic freedom or university autonomy in the true sense, as may be seen from the following:
>
> 1. Each university is governed internally by committees composed of academics. There is no attempt to make universities uniform; each school maintains its own traditions, particular characteristics, and personalities. Let us take, for example, the 20 medical schools in different universities. In no two are the curricula identical. Some use an integrated approach to teaching; others use classical methods ... On the other hand,.....,the minimum credit requirements laid down by the Council of Higher Education have to be observed.
>
> 2. Each university has the right to formulate its internal regulations and bylaws, which are published in the Official Gazette after being signed by the rector, provided they are not in conflict with policies laid down by the Higher Education Council. ... Grading of the students also differs from one university to another, even though a minimum passing level is set by the Council on the recommendation of the Inter-University Board.
>
> 3. Each university may receive donations, make research contracts, and collect fees for services. ... Fees collected from the students, however, have to be used solely for subsidizing students' cultural, recreational, and social needs, including food.
>
> 4. Each university appoints its own faculty, but their numbers must now be proportional to the student enrolments of the universities in question and the academic duties of faculty members.

5. Freedom of research is safeguarded not only by law but also in the constitution. (11)

Commenting on the financial autonomy given by YÖK, Güvenç noted that:

> YÖK, contends that such a concept of autonomy (i.e., election of administrators by the staff) is obsolete. State universities, which never had financial autonomy, are free to enjoy academic autonomy. The state approval or appointment of deans and rectors will only help to bridge the gap yawning wide between the State and its universities. (12)

The Higher Education Council do not just choose the candidates for the rectorships but also plan educational activities such as training the teaching staff (Article 7-a), higher education planning (Art.7-d), maximum yearly student intake decisions (Art.7-h), revision of the budgets prepared by the governing bodies and the universities in order to finalize them before submission to the Ministry of Education (Art.7-k). These decisions for example in British universities dealt by the individual university council who is the legal representative of the university. Also YÖK is an outside body and responsible from the universities most functions contrary to English case which apart from funding council- which deals financial side of the higher education- and the universities and their council are free from government controls. In general the centralized power in university context brings the fear of government control within the institutions.

But in his paper Doğramacı defends the law and three years practice of the law:

> The debate between those advocating unrestricted 'academic freedom' and those who maintain that any freedom worthy of the

> name must take into account responsibility towards the community will doubtless continue to be highly charged. The new law in no way diminishes academic freedom and the academic autonomy of the universities,provided that academic freedom and autonomy are not interpreted to mean non-accountability to any outside body relative to the performance of tasks. The law has made every effort to balance the need for academic freedom and the need for serving national priorities. It is our belief that these goals have been largely achieved in the Turkish universities.(13)

Another writer, Umunç, defends the law in his paper:

> ....university autonomy is no longer a justification for neglect of duty and political intrigue, as it used to be in the past.(14)

With Article 42 YÖK Law the Turkish higher education had started to have an academic control in the activities pertaining education (teaching-training), scientific research, publication, seminars, clinical and practical work. This control with an optimistic approach can be seen as a control of academic standard for the sake of the institute. However the practise showed that several staff had been arrested because of the book they were using as a teaching material. Professor Sadun Aren, retired lecturer from University of Ankara Faculty of Political Science, was arrested on 9th of July 1982 because of his macro economics lecture notes. (he was arrested with making communist propoganda.)(15) Also Dr Yalçın KÜçük, Gazi University in Ankara, was sentenced to seven and a half years with his book in For a New Republic, allegedly making communist propaganda in 1983.(16) This practise cannot be seen in British or any other Western universities.

Another part that breaches the freedom to choose and join the political parties is the Article 59, which emphasises the state control:

> Teaching staff members and students of all levels, in institution of higher education cannot be affiliated with political parties and their attached organizations; nor can they be involved in any political activity on behalf of a party. Membership to any society, excluding Voluntary Societies, is subject to the Rector's permission in writing.)

With this article, teaching staff or student cannot join any society or club with their own free will, even the professional societies or international scientific organizations. To give an interview to the press is needed to get a permission from the rector.

In 7 November 1982 Constitution, which was ratified by public vote and accepted with 90% majority, article 130 and 131, concerned with the Higher Education and approves the Higher Education Act 2547.(17) The article 130 confirmes that 'universities, members of the teaching staff and their assistants may freely engage in scientific research and publication. However, this shall not include the liberty to engage in activities against the existence and independence of the state, and against the integrity and indivisibility of the nation and the country'.

As Savran commented on this article:

> .....Since such' activities' against the state etc. are already prohibited for all citizens (Article 14), the existence of this clause specifically concerning academic activities must, from the

juridical point of view, have an additional meaning. Since scientific activity is what defines the specificity of an academician as opposed to an ordinary citizen, the prohibition in question aims in fact at restricting the activities of research and teaching.(18)

The Constitution 7.11.1982,Article 130 paragraph 7 also decrees:

The university control and administrative bodies and teaching staff cannot be dismissed from any position except by the Higher Education Council (YÖK) or other authorised university bodies.(19)

Doğramacı, the founder of YÖK, concludes his paper as follows:

The debate between those advocating unrestricted 'academic freedom' and those who maintain that any freedom worthy of the name must take into account responsibility towards the community will doubtless continue to be highly charged. The new law in no way diminishes academic autonomy of the universities, provided that academic freedom and autonomy are not interpreted to mean non-accountability to any outside body relative to the performance tasks. The law has made every effort to balance the need for academic freedom and the need for serving national priorities. It is our belief that these goals have been largely achieved in the Turkish universities.(20)

Güvenç noted in his paper, the principle of autonomy is needed for academic freedom.

'We need and want autonomy as a shield of freedom. We want academic freedom so that we will have a free university or freedom of expression and freedom to disbelieve. Western societies believe in the power of science because they have witnessed what magic science can do. The modern world is a product of science and technology, whereas the wonders and powers of science are still in a hypothetical phase in Turkey. They are not produced nationally but imported and adopted. If science can be imported for less, why spend so much more to produce it nationally. Unless we are active in science, however, how can we ever hope to catch up with contemporary civilization?'(21)

5.2. LAW 2547 AND ITS EFFECTS UPON STAFF IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In this section those parts of the law relating to university staff will be considered. Parts five and six and articles 22-42 and article 53 concern disciplinary and penal procedures, article 59 is about restriction on membership of political parties, article 62 is about the rights of personnel, article 63 deals with employment records. Articles 6-9 describe governing bodies, while articles 4-6 define the aim and basic principles of higher education. (22)

Under this new law the Higher Education Council was authorised to intervene in academic promotions and in preparation of course syllabuses (Article 65).

The articles which directly related with staff as:

5.2.1, TEACHING

1. Article 4 regulated how staff were to teach Atatürk's reforms and the principles of Kemalism, cultural and national values such as the dignity of being a Turk. In lectures about general or political history limits were imposed on what the lecturers could say about the event; they were not allowed to give their own individual interpretations of their significance. Thus natural communication between the students and their lecturers was hampered in a manner

unparalleled in any truly democratic regime. Universities could not, under this system, practise a scientific or normal academic approach towards subjects or discuss them freely with an international outlook.

Nevertheless, the law required the students to have 'a free thought and liberal vision of world affairs and respect for human rights' (Art.4- Part 5) and 'develop in a balanced way, physically, mentally, spiritually and emotionally'(Part 6). The ideas in this article may appear to have some relevance to subjects related to Turkish history or teacher training but it is difficult to see how they could be applied to physics, chemistry or indeed any science courses. Besides the 'ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values, free thought, and liberal vision of world affairs' mentioned in the law are relative terms that can change their meaning according a person's general philosophy of life. In particular, 'Atatürkism' or 'Kemalism' was a concept that acquired many different meanings and both left wingers and right wingers attempted to lay claim to it in order to exploit it for their own ends.

2. Article 5 had more to say about the teaching of Atatürk's reforms and principles and how national culture was to be integrated with universal culture in a way that would 'develop and foster Turkish mores and traditions so that students would develop a strong sense of nationality and solidarity'. (Part-b) Again the terms are very broad and the law is very open to misuse.

Lectures on Atatürk's principles, the history of Turkish reforms, Turkish language and a foreign language were all made compulsory courses. In spite of criticism of these articles, in those days most people thought the provisions were necessary to eliminate religious, leftist and extreme right wing ideas and to re-establish Kemalism in the universities. The Armed Forces were keen to bring this about because they see themselves as the protectors of Kemalism in Turkey. And since the Armed Forces were virtually an autonomous institution that the government could not control, they were in a position to impose their will. So, in 1981, the centenary of Atatürk's birth, universities organized several conferences and symposia to promote Kemalism and condemn other ideologies, emphasising that the country could not survive with any foreign ideas and thoughts apart from Kemalism. (23)

It may be thought that the teaching of Atatürk's reforms and principles and the inculcation of Turkish pride would more appropriately be carried out in the orta okul and lise (secondary schools), thus providing a foundation on which students could later build in the liberal atmosphere of a university.

5.2.2. NATIONALISM

In Articles 4 and 5, Atatürkism, nationalism and reforms and principles were mentioned about three times though Atatürk's ideas on

education 'being the engine, the driving force of national development', were not.(24)

There can be no doubt that Atatürk placed enormous value on education. He frequently referred to this in his speeches. He said, 'it is education which makes a nation free, independent, honourable and great or else drives it to slavery and poverty.'(25)

He always sought to protect education from fanaticism. But in the recent years some people have distorted his views for religious reasons. As early as 1924 he closed all the medreses and under the Unification Law placed all schools under state control in order to banish religious fanaticism from them. The present Higher Education Law that puts universities under government control entails a risk that if religious influence continues to grow as it has in the last fifteen years, universities could lose their freedom from religious control.

5.2.3. YÖK'S CONTROL OVER ACADEMICS

Articles 6-9 are about YÖK and points relating to the staff are as follows:

1. Article 7 lays down that the Council shall prepare plans and programmes to train teaching staff locally or abroad and supervise these plans and resources to ensure their efficient use. Thus

universities cannot themselves decide these matters without YÖK's permission.

2. Part 2 of the Article 7 requires YÖK to decide whether to open faculties, institutes and schools of higher education within universities or close down the existing ones either directly or in response to proposals made by the universities. This authority clearly gives the Council enormous power for good or ill, and many Turkish academics were fearful of the way it would use it against certain faculties and departments, particularly as the Council also had to regulate the balance of staff on the basis of requirements, prepare education programmes and research activities, decide on promotion of the doçents and professors, examine and evaluate universities and take steps to improve them if they were unsatisfactory.

Opponents argued that the Council's power to promote academic staff undermined any pretence of academic freedom.

3. The same part of this article also allows the Council, if there are circumstances which are causing a breakdown in education, to close down and later recommence teaching without consulting the university concerned.

5.2.4. CONTROL OVER ACADEMICS

Under Article 7(1) one of YÖK's tasks is to check and confirm the disciplinary actions taken by rectors.

Under Article 13(b)(4) rectors can relocate members of their staff if they feel it necessary to do so. (This gives the rectors great power over individual members of staff, making many people understandably reluctant to voice any opposition to their rector.) Article 53 makes it clear that rectors have disciplinary powers in their universities.(26)

In accordance with Articles 8 and 9, 'the Higher Education Supervision Committee, attached to YÖK, supervises and controls the universities and the teaching staff and their activities'. These articles can also be interpreted as a threat to academic freedom.

5.2.5. RECTORS

The part of the law that attracted most objections was concerned with the 'Rectors' whom were appointed by the Head of the State from among four candidates, 'two of whom are professors chosen by the Higher Education Council' in accordance with Article 13.

In practice, because the duty of the Head of State is mostly symbolic in Turkey, the rector is chosen by the Council.

After appointment by the Head of State, the rector has power to control all the university for five years. As Kongar stated:

> "The law introduces personal power in the full sense of the term, the personal power of a rector whose personality and characteristics are circumscribed by the fact that he graduated from an institute of higher education a mere fifteen years ago. Power will belong to him and his cronies. That, in brief, is what the law has introduced. I want to stress this. (27)

Güvenç says of the rectors chosen by YÖK:

> The heart of the problem lies in the question: Is academic (scientific) autonomy possible under political (ideological) supervision? Hand-picked rectors and their deans are said to be of the rightist tendencies and favoring the candidates of similar ideology (Turk-Islam synthesis). So, in the near future, this ideology is likely to control academic autonomy. The related questions are thus reduced to election or appointment dichotomy without a solution or resolution in sight. Meanwhile the concept of academic freedom stands unattended. Young staff without tenure are reluctant or afraid to speak out. (28)

Article 13 removed from universities the right to appoint their own rectors and empowered the head of the state to select the rector from a list of four candidates, two of whom were to be professors nominated by the Council but others could come from outside the universities if they had fifteen years of work experience, preferably in the state sector, after they had graduated from university. Moreover, if the head of state did not consider the list appropriate he could demand another. It can be argued that such provisions could give rise to this can cause political and ideological preferences influencing the choice, but in an interview with *Cumhuriyet* Doğramacı insisted that

this method of choosing rectors was the best way to eliminate favoritism within the same institution: "If the university members elect their own rector how can the rector inspect the staff who chose him?" (29)

Williamson, a British expert, took approach similar to Doğramacı:

> Built into the new regulations is the assumption that university autonomy was a concept that had been abused in Turkey and that the freedom universities had had to elect their own rectors and deans and to determine appointments to teaching posts had been corrupted by political factionalism on campus. (30)

A rector's main duty is to implement the Council's decisions but he also has the power to change the service location of the teaching staff and other personnel and to give them a new duties.

Moreover the rector has the power to decide to appoint ,to dismiss and to control the staff and their academic duties, to give them and the students written permission to be member of any society. As Briefing summarized the rectors duties: 'the new rectors will have the power to hire and fire'. (31)

5.2.6. DEANS

Article 16 states that deans will be appointed by the YÖK from among three nominees chosen by the rector for three years. Again the faculties have no right to choose their heads. Doğramacı, in a TV

programme to introduce the new law, justified this by saying, 'if the rector and the dean are elected they can be obligated to the staff who chose them'.(32)

This statement prompted Mumcu to wonder, what about rectors appointed by the council? Their appointments could be based on political considerations or favoritism. He said:

> Doğramacı himself was chosen rector by university teachers and stayed in that post longer than any rector. In this post, what did he give them, what concession did he make to them, and what bonus did he give them? With what 'favour' did he run for the rectorship?(33)

The effect of Articles 13 and 16 was to make the rectors and the deans beholden to the government but not their own staff members.

This prompted opponents of the YÖK to argue that universities are where the most educated people gather and where knowledge is imparted to the young generation. If that is not an environment in which people can choose their own leaders, how can ordinary people in the street choose their members of the parliament? Of course the main reason stated in the media for depriving universities of the right to choose was the terror and anarchy that led to the 1980 coup. But most terrorist activities had occurred not in the universities but in the higher education institutions that were attached to the Ministry of Education. The Middle East Technical University, for example, was not autonomous but was run by the Board of Trustees chosen by the Ministry

of Education. And teacher training colleges, where much violence occurred, were directly attached to the Ministry.

5.2.7. DUTIES

Article 22 laid down the duties of the teaching staff. As well as teaching, preparing and directing projects and seminars, undertaking research for publication, advising and guiding the students, they also had to carry out the duties assigned by this law and authorized organs.

5.2.8. APPOINTMENTS

Article 23 concerned the appointment of Assistant Doçents. The dean was to chose a committee of three professors or doçents, one of whom had to be from outside the university, and one administrator, to give a written statement. So after the dean or the selected director has sought the Administrative Committee's opinions, the nominee's file goes to the rector. The appointment is made by the Rector. They may be appointed at this grade no more than three times and each time for a term of two years. The reason for the time limit is to encourage them to apply for promotion to doçent, to push them the promotion ladder faster. If the assistant doçent does not want to become a doçent he may be moved from the university where he works. The candidate for assistant doçentship cannot apply for such a post in the

university that awarded him his doctorate until at least three years have elapsed. Also they have to pass foreign language examination, which comprises a translation of 150-200 words from Turkish into a foreign language and from foreign language into Turkish to the satisfaction of three jury members.

This requirement was intended to make candidates take foreign language learning seriously since knowledge of a foreign language may be needed to follow the literature of the subject, especially as most scientific writing is in English. But it was difficult for lecturers with heavy teaching loads to find the time to learn foreign languages to the standard required and follow the literature of their subject in it.

Article 24 dealt with the doçent (associate professorship) examinations. The candidate was required to submit his application together with his publications to the inter-university board. The board then appointed a jury of three or five professors according to the applicant's subject. After examining the candidate's work, the jury would give an oral examination. The candidate was not required to take a foreign language examination if this had been taken for the assistant doçentship.

Article 25 concerns for the appointment of the doçent. The rector assigns three professors, one of them from outside the university and one administrator of the related unit. If these professors report favourably, the rector appoints the candidate to the position of doçent. To be eligible candidates must have worked as assistant

doçent. To be eligible candidates must have worked as assistant doçents in higher education for at least three years. There is no restriction on the period that a doçent can work in the university.

Article 26 a. deals with promotion to the rank of professor. To be eligible the candidate has to have worked in the field for five years after becoming a doçent and at least two years in the university. Paragraph 2 stipulates that candidates are 'to have done work of practical application and to have published research, original by international standards', but this is very difficult in practice. The intention of this paragraph may have been the laudable one of reducing laziness in the academic profession but the judgement of whether work is of practical application or up to international standards could be subjective. Moreover, the practical applicability of certain subjects like history or literature may be difficult to establish. If the professors sitting in judgement upon the candidate were appointed before this law came into effect they may not themselves be in a position to determine the practical applicability of the the research or its international standing.

Article 26 b. covers appointment to a professorship. This is done by the YÖK. Doçents eligible for promotion or professors who have worked for at least three years in another university may be appointed to vacant professorial posts. The procedure is that first the rector informs the Council of the vacant post and the Council advertises it in the newspapers. Qualified candidates may apply to the council and then three professors , including one from the university concerned

and one from outside that university are appointed by the rector to evaluate the applications. The rector submits the assessment to the university administrative committee and informs the Council of the university's preference and proposes appointment. The Council then sets up a commission consisting of the relevant university rectors or their delegates to examine these proposals, also taking into the consideration the candidates' wishes. Appointments are then made according to the decision reached.

This is therefore a long procedure involving rectors, committees, commissions and the YÖK. Since most professors in those committees did not go through such a long procedure to become professors their judgement could be doubtful.

Doçents who have worked in the same university for three or more years may not apply for a vacant professorship in the same university. The main aim of this part is to encourage the assistant professors to move other universities and so help to develop the less favoured universities throughout the country.

As we can see, the articles keep repeating the words 'may not', but the Law does not make clear what should happen to staff members who fail to match the requirements for promotion. The Law offers no job security. Up to the grade of doçent the posts are for a short term only and are not renewable beyond three two-year periods.

Articles 23-26 make it easier in academic terms to become a doçent and a professor but it is difficult administratively. Before the new law, to gain these titles the candidate had to present a special thesis, but now promotion depends on the Council. The Council can decide whether the person is eligible or not on the basis of their publications and reports on their ability. It may be claimed that if a university wished to retain a valuable member of staff they could refuse to recommend his promotion because on promotion he would be obliged to move elsewhere. Perhaps because of this, although this law has not been amended, a YÖK decree subsequently allowed some relaxation of the requirement to move to another university on promotion.

After gaining the title of professor or doçent an individual still has to wait until appointment to a vacant post before receiving a professor's or doçent's salary. Thus there may soon be a great many people bearing these titles but not holding university posts appropriate to these grades. Article 29 states that academics cannot be deprived of their titles, but to use them outside universities they must first have worked in universities for two years after gaining the title. (Many doctors and lawyers and some businessmen are keen to use these titles to boost their professional reputations.)

5.2.9. AGE RESTRICTION

The latest retirement age for academic staff is 67. Some argue that this restriction is unfair; there is no age limit for members of YÖK and many university teachers are still sufficiently active beyond the age of 67 to use their experience to make a very positive contribution. (Article 30)

5.2.10. ANCILLARY STAFF

Articles 31-35 relate to ancillary staff. Ancillary staff can also work in specific areas of instruction and research besides participating in educational planning and activities requiring special knowledge and training.. The rules governing their appointment and rights are laid down in this law and in the University Personnel Law.

Ancillary staff may be employed if there is no teaching staff member available for the specific subjects or where there is need for staff on the research side. Research assistants are appointed by the dean after consulting administrative committees and the rector. Both categories can be appointed for a period of two years and if necessary their appointment can be renewed. They work on special contract. Article 32 makes the junior research assistants and lecturers feel insecure because they cannot have long-term contracts.

If, like the permanent members of staff, these ancillaries have doctorates, this regulation creates a two-tier system for lecturers within the universities.

5.2.11. TRAINING

Article 35 gives universities the opportunity to have their academic staff trained at home or abroad in accordance with the development plan. It is sometimes claimed that the selection of junior staff to be sent abroad for training is based on favouritism and may give preference to those with particular political affiliation or ideas.

5.2.12. TEACHING LOADS

Article 36 divides professors and doçents into two categories: full-time and part-time. They have to decide whether to be full or part time in accordance with temporary article 22 within a year and inform their institution. If they decide to be full time they are required to devote all their working time to activities relating to the universities and they cannot do any other kind of paid or unpaid, official or private work outside higher education institutions. This article created a storm of protest in the universities. Most professors of law, economics and medicine had their own offices outside. They could teach in the university in the mornings and then in the afternoon they could go to their offices and run their own

business. Some of them were on executive committees in banks and other business concerns. This article required them to give up either their well paid jobs outside the university or change their university status to that of part-time member of staff that bestowed no supplementary benefits or any increments of any kind. They could not become deans, rectors, directors of institutes, or head of departments. If they went abroad for research or any other academic activity their expenses could not be paid by the university. This article therefore addressed what had been a major problem in the universities and the subject of discussion over many years.

The weekly teaching load for the permanent teaching staff is not less than ten hours and for those on two-year contracts and instructors is not less then twelve hours. They are subject to supervision by their heads of department, directors of institutes, deans and rectors. Deans, directors, heads and rectors are not necessarily required to teach but their deputies are to carry out half of the amount of the teaching staff, that is to say five hours a week.

This article places all members of faculties under the control of rectors and deans who are given the task of supervising them.

5.2.13. WORKING CONDITIONS

Articles 38 and 39 are concerned with teaching staff working in other public organizations or on assignment at home and abroad. The

teaching staff can work temporarily in other public organizations with the permission of their institutions without loss of their acquired rights. Article 38 makes no mention of asking the consent of teaching faculty members, so it is assumed that staff can be moved temporarily to any post in the civil service. Article 38 empowers institutions, executive boards and the YÖK to assign unwanted personnel from a faculty to other institutions on a temporary basis.

Article 39 allows faculty members to attend conferences, congresses or seminars for up to two weeks with their rectors' permission without demanding any expenses from their institutions. Members who obtain scholarships and receive payment from foreign institutions are allowed paid leave for the period they are away. If they wish to prolong their absence the rector and the administrative committee deal with their request.

5.2.14. INTER-INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION

Article 40 concerns inter-institutional cooperation. If teaching staff members or ancillary staff have a smaller teaching load than that prescribed, 'the rector can assign them to teaching duties either in the same university or in other institutions in the same city'. This again gives an extensive power to the rector, enabling him to remove a faculty member from his institution if he wants to. Under the same article the teaching staff member may be asked to undertake teaching duties in the university which has asked for help and with

rector's approval teaching staff can teach there for up to one year. If the individual does not accept this other post he could lose his job.

5.2.15. ROTATION

Article 41 deals with meeting universities' needs for teaching staff, or, in other words, rotation. The universities and institutions report to the YÖK their teaching staff needs for the following academic year by January. Based on those reports, the Council studies decides which university can best spare teachers and allocates staff accordingly. Members of staff may be asked to go where they are needed but those who have already worked two years under the terms of Article 40 in another institution and professors who have already worked eight years in the same institution are subject to reallocation under this system. If there insufficient volunteers to fill the vacancies the YÖK select people by drawing lots and if anyone refuses to take up the post after being told to do so the person concerned is considered to have resigned and is not eligible to take up any other teaching post or any position in any public organization. But staff members who do accept the assigned duty work there for two years having all the benefits of the new post as well as having their permanent positions retained at their own university.

Rotation should ideally be on a voluntary basis. Forced rotation can be harmful because the duties of senior staff members are not limited

to teaching but also include research and involvement with postgraduate studies. If senior staff members go for two years to the newly established universities that lack library and research facilities they may be cut off not only from their students but also from the research projects and the teams they might have spent years developing. It is difficult for them to start again at the beginning in another university. This law gives the YOK and rectors opportunities to punish staff for personal or political reasons by sending them to the less developed areas. Voluntary rotation, on the other hand, would allow some young idealistic university teachers to gain financial benefits and go happily to help develop new universities in the same way that teacher training colleges were developed in the early years of the Republic.

5.2.16. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Article 3(d) clearly states that universities are "higher education institutions possessing academic autonomy and legal personality". However, as discussed on page 183, the prescriptive nature of Articles 4 and 5 that lay down certain things that must be taught and researched and the spirit in which these must be done, constitute a restriction of academic freedom. Article 42 still further deprives teaching staff of academic freedom. At the end of each academic year teaching staff have to send details of their academic work and their plans for the coming year through their head of department and dean to the rector. The rector evaluates these and sends his report to the

YOK with his estimate of the person's adequacy. So the Council is in possession of details of the work of all the teaching staff and, opponents of YÖK claim, the control it can exercise virtually removes all academic freedoms from the teaching staff.

5.2.17. DISCIPLINARY AND PENAL PROCEDURES

Article 53 covers disciplinary and penal procedures. The head of Council is the disciplinary superintendent of the Higher Education Council itself and of university rectors. Similarly rectors are responsible for the discipline within their universities, as are deans of faculties, directors of institutes and schools for the discipline within their own areas of responsibility. The administrative boards in the universities works as disciplinary committees at the same time. Membership of particular disciplinary committees is limited to ensure that members of staff are not dealt with by people junior to themselves.

5.2.18. MEMBERSHIP OF PARTIES AND SOCIETIES

Article 59 restricts the rights of teaching staff to belong to political parties or societies and take part in political activities. Apart from voluntary societies members of teaching staff and students cannot belong to political parties and their affiliated organizations. To become a member of any society they have to have their rector's

written permission. The effect of this article is to isolate academics from normal political life and a good deal of normal social life. Even if they want to join a professional, scientific or academic society they have to get written permission from their rector.

5.2.19. ESSENTIAL RIGHTS OF STAFF

Article 62 deals with the essential rights of staff. In cases where further clarification is required, this article has to be read in conjunction with the University Personnel Law and general decrees.

5.2.20. PERSONNEL RECORDS

Article 63 is about official records of personnel. The official records to be held according the Council's regulations. These records are used as a base for the appointments, upgrading, gaining the title and all the matters pertaining the personnel. Therefore the destiny of the staff has been left the Council's decision and regulations.

5.2.21. PUBLICATIONS

Article 65 is about the regulation that YÖK can publish. The regulations, that Council prepares and publish, for the staffs are

from promotion and appointment, training, the weekly teaching load, text books and teaching materials, copyrights, expenditure of scientific and technical studies, research and publications to disciplinary procedures and official records and other academic matters related to implementation of this law.

In other words the Council can change the most of the law according to the regulations. This, gives the Council almost an authority to remake the law according the members wishes.

5.3. ARTICLES RELATING TO STUDENTS

The articles directly relating to students were 4, 5, 43-50, 54, 59, 63 and the temporary articles 5 and 13.

5.3.1. STUDENTS' EDUCATION

Article 4 stated that the aims of higher education, insofar as students were directly concerned, were:

"to educate students so that they:

(1) - will be loyal to ATATÜRK nationalism and to ATATÜRK's reforms and principles,

(2) - will be in accord with national, ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish Nation and conscious of dignity being Turk,

(3) - will put the common good above their own personal interests and have full devotion for family, country and nation,

(4) - will be fully conscious of their duties and responsibilities towards their country and will act accordingly,

(5) - will have free thought, a liberal vision of world affairs and respect for human rights,

(6) - will develop in a balanced way, physically, mentally, spiritually and emotionally,

(7) - will prove to be good citizens contributing to the country's welfare and at the same time acquire the necessary skills for their future vocations."

This legal requirement imposed an awesome burden on the staff who were supposed to instil these characteristics into students whose personalities, at the age of eighteen and over, were already very largely formed.

Article 5 reinforced the necessity to inculcate Turkish mores and traditions. This led to considerable debate because an attempt to introduce similar legal requirements in Higher Education Law 1750 in 1973 resulted in a Constitutional Court decision in February 1975 to remove a less stringent obligation.

5.3.2. UNIFICATION OF COURSES

The courses in different universities were to be standardised so as to facilitate transfer of students from one university to another with Article 43-b.

5.3.3. DURATION OF EDUCATION

Article 44 regulated the maximum permissible extra time for students to complete their courses. This part caused heated discussion. As all higher education institutes had different rights for their students, it was difficult to adopt the same rules for all of them. Temporary Article 5 allowed students to carry on with the old system until end of the academic year 1981-82. Under Temporary Article 13 the students, whose normal period was already completed according to Article 44, were allowed to carry on their education but would be expected to be successful each year throughout the rest of their course otherwise they would be expelled from the institution.

Law number 1750 which came into effect in 1973 restricted the maximum extra period for the students to a half of the normal course length (which was four years for most students and six years for medical students). However the time allowed to students to complete their degree courses had previously differed from institution to institution. For example, the University of Ankara had a very relaxed attitude as they had adopted the German system and the students could

be in the final year of their degree in subjects they had passed but still have a failed examination to take again from the first year. And even when they had taken the examinations for the officially permitted maximum number of times they could still anticipate further resits under the frequent 'general Amnesties' approved by the government. That had made for a very relaxed attitude among students, who had a saying, 'Once you are in the university you will finish sooner or later'. Article 44 of the new law made it clear that students who could not succeed would be expelled.

5.3.4. ATTENDANCE

Article 44-Section *(c)* made it compulsory to attend the lectures. Anyone who was absent for more than 30 days in two semesters would lose the right to take the examination for that year and was considered to have failed that subject that year. This section was hard on the students who were studying and working at the same time. But as attendance in the social science lectures was previously very low, this section may also be regarded as an attempt to oblige students to do more than simply follow the course books.

5.3.5. ADMISSION

Article 45 deals with admission to higher education. Under Section (a) candidates, who had to be secondary school graduates, were given

the right to take the examination three times during the six years following their graduation.

Those who were already in higher education were given the right to enter the examination once more. (That could be attractive to candidates who wanted to change from their present course to one that was in greater demand, like medicine.)

Those who had been dismissed under Articles 44 and 49 were given one more chance unless six years had elapsed since their graduation from secondary school and provided that they had not used their right to re-sit.

The restrictions which this article imposed by limiting the number of times candidates could sit the entrance examination and denying opportunities to those over a certain age were condemned by many people as a violation of basic human rights. (Paragraph 1 of Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948: "...higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit") In fact these restrictions were annulled in 1983.

An innovation in Section *(b)* of Article 45 awarded an additional point to candidates in the entrance examination for exceptional success at secondary school.

5.3.6. HIGHER EDUCATION FEES

Article 43 noted in passing that fees were payable for education at undergraduate level. Article 46 dealt with fees in more detail. These were fixed and calculated by the YÖK according to the nature of the courses. Students would pay a maximum of one fifth of the cost of their education. They would be able to get a loan from the state if they agreed either to repay it in cash or do compulsory service in return.

5.3.7. STUDENT WELFARE ACTIVITIES

Article 47 lists a number of functions that the Higher Education Council was to perform for the well being of students. For example, they were, within budgetary limitations, to provide sports and recreational facilities, psychological counselling and careers advice.

5.3.8. TEACHING MATERIALS

Article 48 requires universities to produce, print and sell textbooks and teaching materials at cost price.

5.3.9. POSTGRADUATE EDUCATION

Article 50 concerns admission to postgraduate education and the conditions under which postgraduate students can be appointed as temporary ancillary staff. No fees are charged for postgraduate courses. These changes greatly improved the lot of postgraduates.

5.3.10. DISCIPLINARY PROCEDURES

Article 54 deals with the student disciplinary procedures. 'Students whose behaviour is incompatible with the character and dignity of the student in higher education, who directly or indirectly restrict the freedom of learning and teaching; who violate the peace and order of institutions; who participates in actions such as boycotts, occupations and obstructions; who encourage and provoke such actions; who assault the person, the honour and the dignity of the personnel of higher education institutions; who behave disrespectfully; and who participate in anarchic or ideological actions or encourage and provoke such actions - to those students such penalties will be given as a warning (even if such actions amount to crime) reprimand, suspension for between one week to one month, or for one or two semesters or expulsion from higher education institutions, even though such conduct involves another offence.' Disciplinary Committees authorised by deans, directors of schools or institutes empowered to meet out punishments were to complete their investigations and procedures within fifteen days of the offence coming to light.

Students have a right to present an oral or written defence will be notified in writing of disciplinary action. The case will then be reported to the YÖK and to the organization awarding a grant to the student. The student has the right to appeal to the University Administrative Board within 15 days for reconsideration of the decision concerning his expulsion from higher education institution. Penalties also will be entered into the student's official records. A decision to expel a student from higher education institution is reported to the YÖK and other institutions, including in the case of male students, the Military Service Authority. Those expelled from higher education forfeit the right to admission to any higher education.

As is apparent from these articles of the law, such severe punishments ensure that students engaging in any activities apart from studying put their whole future in jeopardy.

5.3.11. MEMBERSHIP OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Article 59 concerns the restrictions on membership of political parties and their affiliated organizations. Students, like the staff, are forbidden to be affiliated with or involved in political parties. Students cannot belong to any society without written permission from the rector.

5.3.12. STUDENT RECORDS

Article 63 concerns student as well as staff records. The records have to be kept in accordance with the YÖK regulations. The reasons for maintaining the students records are not clear and it looks very costly and difficult job for the academics to do. No such individual records were kept before 1981.

5.4. TOWARDS A NEW ERA IN THE UNIVERSITIES

The Higher Education Law was accepted by the National Security Council on 4 November 1981 even before the National Consultative Assembly (Millî Danışma Meclisi) had been brought into being. This law, number 2547, contained 28 temporary articles and the authority to implement them was given to the Council of Ministers.(34) These temporary articles can be summarised as follows:

1. With effect from the date of promulgation of this law the existing Inter-University Board, senates, university governing bodies, faculty, institute, and other higher education administrative committees and governing bodies will be abolished and be reformed in accordance with the provisions of this law.

The present rectors' duties will end on 31 July 1982, and those of the deans of faculties, and directors of the higher education institutes will end on 31 August 1982. (Temporary Article 1)

2. The Higher Education Council (YÖK) will be established within three months of this law coming into effect. (Temporary Article 2)

3. The equivalents of academic titles obtained in various establishments before this law became effective will be continued in the new system. (Temporary Article 6) Staff promotion applications for doçent and professorships that are are already under consideration before the promulgation of this law will be dealt with under the old system. (Temporary Article 8) An applicant who has successfuly completed one stage of the requirements (such as the language examination, thesis, colloquium and experimental lecture) but has not yet obtained the title will be given one more year to complete the remaining steps ((Temporary Article 9). Doçents who were already waiting for promotion to professorship by 30 June 1982 will have to pass language examination that will be held by central system. (Temporary Article 21)

4. Research assistants without a Ph.D. can work another year and their appointment will be considered by the administration committees. (Temporary Article 10) Research assistant with a Ph.D. have to apply for posts as assistant doçents within the year. If they cannot become assistant doçents in a year they will be dismissed from their posts. (Temporary Article 15-a) Staff with a Ph.D. degree working under

other titles can apply for a post as an assistant doçent but if those posts are not available these staff can continue as ancillary teaching staff. If there are more applicants than posts available, excess staff will be dismissed by the administrative committees after detailed investigation. (Temporary Article 15-b)

5. Existing regulations and the instructions that do not conform to the regulations foreseen by this law will be brought into line within nine months of the publication of this law. Until the finalization of the amendment of the regulations , rules that do not conflict with this law will remain in force, except that the current rules governing the examination and assessment of students will be applied until the end of the academic year 1981-82. [These were the regulations that determined whether students were eligible to proceed to the next year's class,] (Temporary Article 5)

6. Students who have completed or gone beyond the time limits allowed under Article 44 will not be dismissed when this law comes into effect. However, these students must be successful throughout the rest of their time in higher education, otherwise they will be dismissed. (Temporary Article 13)

[Temporary Articles 5 and 13 had the effect of purging from the universities 50,000 students who had not passed their examinations within the prescribed time limits.]

7. The status of academies, faculties, institutes and the higher schools will be notified to the Ministry of Education within six months of this law coming into force. These institutions will start the 1982-1983 academic year with their new identity. (Temporary Article 28)

5.5. REPERCUSSIONS OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION LAW

The law introduced the biggest changes since 1933 to the higher education system and the staff employed in it. As has been discussed above, the whole higher education system was centralized and the universities became establishments under the control of YÖK through their rectors who were YÖK's representatives.

Universities all over the country protested against this law. In Ankara 901 university staff expressed their opposition immediately after the law was accepted.

There was a big protest in İstanbul Technical University where 450 signed a letter in which they stated, 'higher education will be damaged by YÖK and the source of academic permanent staff will disappear' (35)

Uğur Mumcu in an article in Cumhuriyet expressed the anger felt by the university staff:

> With YÖK, 'institutional autonomy' has been totally removed. The universities had administrative authority that allowed them to govern themselves. Academic autonomy was not a concept that could be considered alone! Administrative and academic autonomy are elements that complement each other. The anger over administrative autonomy was based on the idea that universities was showing a green light to terrorism. (36)

In further discussion of the source of terrorism he said that it was not to be found in the autonomous universities since terrorism was also prevalent in institutions attached to the central authority such as the METU, teacher training colleges and the school of theology 'where no foreign ideology had entered'.

In the same month, on 7 December, 1981, the wearing of headscarves and beards was banned in all educational establishments. YÖK started to publish regulations on subjects ranging from teaching to clothing. Three and a half months after the law was passed, new regulations called 'YÖK Organization and Employment Regulations' (YÖK Teşkilatı ve Çalışma Usulleri Yönetmeliği). These new regulations gave more privileges and authorities to the head of YÖK. The daily newspaper Cumhuriyet summarized some of these authorities as:

1. To represent YÖK alone and to ensure the implementation of all the decisions taken by YÖK.
2. To appoint academic and other personnel working in higher education.
3. To appoint the head of the ÖSYM (Student Selection and Placement Centre) and the head, adviser and experts of the other units attached to YÖK.
4. To appoint university staff and civil servants to posts in other state organizations or change their posts within the universities.

5. To be the final authority to appoint professors.(37)

Soon after the Higher Education Law was passed, on July 20 1982 governmental decree number 41 established new universities and changed the names of some of the old ones. Some of the new universities were already academies or higher education institutions. For example, Gazi University was formed by combining the existing Academy of Finance and Trade, State Academy of Engineering and Architecture, Gazi Higher Teacher Training College, Ankara Higher Technical Teacher Training School and other higher education institutions. Most of the new universities had a very little raison d'etre; they were based on teacher training colleges and had not been created to meet the country's manpower requirements. To open a fully-fledged university with all the faculties would have taken years of work and required additional staff, yet even the existing universities were suffering from staff shortages. Some departments of existing universities were closed: Istanbul University's Foreign Language School,and its Basic Science School; İstanbul Technical University's Foreign Language School; Agean University's Denizli Faculty of Medicine; and the Foreign Language Schools of Uludağ (formerly Bursa) University, Selçuk University, Çukurova University, Cumhuriyet University, Karadeniz University, and Atatürk University were all abolished. These changes appear to have been made without proper manpower planning or redeployment arrangements.

UNIVERSITIES	DATE OF	1991-1992		
	ESTABILISMENT	TOTAL STUDENTS	TEACHING STAFF	STUDENT PER STAFF
AKDENIZ	1982	9642	663	14.5
ANADOLU	1973	307272	1146	268.1
ANKARA	1946	33028	3073	10.7
ATATURK	1957	16528	1293	12.8
BILKENT	1986	6740	541	12.5
BOGAZICI	1971	8759	543	16.1
CUMHURIYET	1974	7522	626	12.0
CUKUROVA	1673	16225	1135	14.3
DICLE	1973	8305	770	10.8
9 EYLUL	1982	26734	1414	18.9
EGE	1955	19072	1939	9.8
ERCIYES	1978	9518	730	13.0
FIRAT	1975	6149	616	10.0
GAZIANTEP	1987	4016	275	14.6
GAZI	1982	35858	2193	16.4
HACETTEPE	1967	24767	2771	8.9
INONU	1975	5700	322	17.7
ISTANBUL	1933	45951	2876	16.0
ISTANBUL TECHNICAL	1944	19270	1819	10.6
KARADENIZ	1955	14218	879	16.2
MARAMARA	1982	22856	1721	13.3
MIMAR SINAN	1982	3856	443	8.7
19 MAYIS	1975	9779	668	14.6
MIDDLE-EAST TECHNICAL	1959	16540	1809	9.1
SELCUK	1975	19038	1088	17.5
TRAKYA	1982	13347	541	24.7
ULUDAG	1975	20683	1212	17.1
YILDIZ	1982	15125	855	17.7
YUZUNCU YIL	1982	2352	319	7.4

TABLE 2. HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES IN TURKEY

A week after the law was accepted there was an open discussion of it on television. Doğramacı defended the new system the law had introduced. The rectors also praised the law. These rectors had been chosen by the university staff. They claimed that the political parties divided the country into factions and partisanship had affected every part of society. They did not say that under the new system universities would be no different from the rest of the country in the future since they would have lost their autonomy and come under government control. They gave examples from western universities. Mumcu, the following day criticised the 'foreign model' ideas:

> Doğramacı and his friends forget one thing, the western universities are meaningful only within the western democracies. The relations between governments and universities have developed through much more democratic traditions and reached today's level. Do we not remember from bitter examples of past periods what problems were created by taking western institutions and stripping away from them the freedom of expression and thought that are the essence of westernization and then implanting them as lifeless imitations? (38)

In the same newspaper on 18 November 1981 İlhan Selçuk discussed the law:

> YÖK can be 'exceptional'. But in this document neither university autonomy nor the principle of democratic participation and academic freedom is included. The most important rule in the law is 'the hierarchy'. The chain of command, this is the new order in the universities. (39)

The criticism came both from the right and the left. Almost everybody in the academic field thought that the new law's aim was to turn universities into 'instruments of the government'. (40)

Some academics and administrators thought that the idea was to run universities 'as if they were military academies, with the discipline of a kindergarten or grammar school thrown in for good measure'.(41)

The democrat newspaper Cumhuriyet's criticisms were echoed by the liberal and right wing papers also. For example, Bedii Faik in Hürriyet discussed the law and said that 'there had been abuses of academic and administrative autonomy but the government was over reacting... It was typical of Turks to swing from one extreme to another instead of looking for a reasonable compromise'.(42) And Nazlı Ilıcak from Tercüman, thought that the law was a 'dangerous demonstration of the yearning for a strong executive'.(43) Nazlı Ilıcak complained that 'the university teaching was too closely subjected to the interests of the state'.(44)

A powerful criticism came from Prof. Dr. Orhan Aldıkaçtı, Head of the Constitutional Committee: 'The YÖK Law is a law for the state of emergency. It is doomed to disappear as time passes.(45)

In December, the Head of the State appointed Doğramacı as head of YÖK. The other members of the Council were also announced. YÖK started to campaign in favour of the new system, introducing it to foreign academics. The new system was generally received favourably by the public at large and by foreign academics. But some of them remarked that there were major problems with the finance and administration. Forbidding staff and students to join political parties was disapproved of. Moreover, they pointed out, though academics were not

allowed to become a members of any political party, the presence of politicians in YÖK, which was responsible for appointments and dismissals, gave scope for partisan abuse by the group in power.

Doğramacı, the head of the Council became the most powerful authority in higher education. According to Şahin Alpay, this regulation 'created a new position that is higher than YÖK and is Turkey's only one man institution'(46)

It was claimed that the universities were now being run by just one man. Doğramacı's profile went up quickly and he became one of the best known public figures in the state hierarchy, though he was also the most unpopular character amongst the academics. There was a marked silence within academic communities especially after Doğramacı was given his draconian powers.

In 1987 certain critics of YÖK gave practical expression to their objections to the new system. A new "academic centre" called BİLAR (an abbreviation of *Bilim Araştırma - Academic Research*) was established by Aziz Nesin, a leading critic of the 1980 military regime and a thorn in the flesh of subsequent governments. He claimed that YÖK made Turkish universities the antithesis of what universities should be. In particular, he asserted that universities should be open to a multiplicity of ideas and opinions and that this was an essential element of democracy in a free country: "The extent of a country's democracy can be gauged by the number of choices on offer; the more there are, the more democratic that country is. For a very

long time, but particularly since 12 September 1980, Turkey has been a country with no alternatives... Because YÖK is an educational monopoly it will produce human beings like robots in Turkey, all with the same views, all expressing the same opinions and all serving monopolistic capital."(47) Under the Higher Education Law, approval from YÖK was required before a private university could be founded, so, in order to circumvent this provision Aziz Nesin dubbed his creation an academic research centre. It was unable to offer degrees and did not seek students who simply wanted a passport to a more lucrative career. Instead it offered a series of seminars to anyone who, regardless of qualifications, genuinely wanted to engage in cultural activity, to learn how to learn and how to research. Thus BıLAR was intended to offer the strongest possible contrast to universities under YÖK's control, since Aziz Nesin and his supporters claimed those universities were offering no more than a continuation of the forced-feeding of lise education, and, as will be noted in the chapter on students, the great majority of Turkish university students have little or no real interest in the subjects they are studying. BİLAR's seminars are conducted by former university staff who are out of sympathy with YÖK. BİLAR first offered its seminars in Ankara. In 1988 its activities spread to Istanbul. Eventually it aspires to operate throughout the whole country, at least in every university city. It is significant that the World University Service acknowledge BİLAR but they do not recognise YÖK. (48)

In summary, the main changes introduced by the Higher Education Law and the chief assertions of its critics were:

1. The administrative autonomy recognised by the previous law was abolished.

2. Academic freedom was infringed by Article 5.

3. Universities were centralized and controlled by YÖK. (Article 6)

4. The composition of YÖK made the government's influence dominant.

5. The method of appointing rectors and deans further increased the power of the Head of the State. (Articles 13, 16)

6. The power of faculty boards was decreased and delegated power was reduced. (Article 17)

7. The legal personality of the faculties was not mentioned in relevant Articles (17-18) of the 1981 Higher Education Law, thus the recognition granted them in the 1973 law was tacitly removed.

8. Faculty members are controlled and supervised by the rectors and deans under the terms of Article 36.

10. Teaching members of faculties may be temporarily transferred to any post in the other public organizations under the terms of Article 38.

11. The freedom of students and staff to join political organizations was removed by Article 59.

12. The supplement to Higher Education Law 2547 and Article 131 of the 1982 Constitution allowed private universities to open. This has now begun in the big cities. These universities are technically charitable foundations and should not seek profits. One of these, Bilkent University, belongs to the Doğramacı charitable foundation and it admits students who can afford very high fees but also offers scholarships to very bright students. At the same time they offered higher salaries to well-known and talented lecturers to come and work for them. So this institution has become an elite teaching institution largely for wealthy students and has acquired some of the elite status of the best of the old state universities.

Although the YÖK Law has many negative aspects, some positive results have been achieved:

1. Under the new arrangements, the number of universities, students and teaching staff has risen.

2. The universities have expanded throughout the whole country.

3. The system of rotating lecturers gave small universities in the provinces an opportunity to have experienced staff.

4. Turkish academics have published more international papers. This is because such publications are now a prerequisite for promotion. In 1982 The number of these publications was 9005, by 1988 this number had gone up to 17,622.(49). In 1994 there was a slight fall to 17,000.(50)

5. The student intake has tripled.(51) But the money allocated per student has decreased.(52)

Thus the implementation of the YÖK law has spread higher education institutions all over the country and made it possible for far more young people to attend university. But it should not be forgotten that Turkey needs to offer an education that can compete with that of the western world in teaching and learning, research and modernity.

On 7 November 1982 the new constitution was approved by 90% of the public who voted in the national referendum. Article 130 of the new constitution removed the university autonomy recognised by the 1960 and 1971 constitutions, though it did still acknowledge academic freedom (bilimsel özerklik). Article 130 introduced a legal requirement to spread higher education throughout the country. The same article also stated that the state provided university security. Article 131 defined YÖK's duties. The new constitution gave YÖK a constitutionally guaranteed place which could not be changed unless the constitution itself was changed. Every change in the basic principles of the Higher Education Law needs an amendment to the relevant paragraphs of the constitution itself. Under Article 175 of

the 1982 constitution any amendment needed a two-thirds majority in parliament. Later, in 1987, the parliamentary majority required for a constitutional change was reduced to three-fifths.

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CHAPTER 6

ACADEMICS AT TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with academics at Turkish universities. It examines the changing attitudes of academics at Turkish universities over the years and then considers the regulations introduced by YÖK and their effect upon university staff. The findings will be supported by the results of a special survey conducted by means of a questionnaire that shows the effects of changes in the period 1981-1991 upon selected senior lecturers and professors.

6.1.2. ACADEMIC STAFF IN THE TURKISH SYSTEM

Western style higher education in the Ottoman Empire was elitist, established by the state and concentrated in İstanbul, leaving most of the country unaware of these innovations.

After the Young Turks' coup of 1908, there was a strong belief that the way to improve Turkey's situation was to implement reform from the top down, so education had a vital role to play.

After 1923 the republicans saw the importance of education even more clearly. However, İstanbul Darülfünun and its staff still believed strongly in elitism and had no interest in providing education for large numbers of the new generation. Consequently, in 1933, Darülfünun was abolished and the new İstanbul University was established. However, the attitude of the academics there did not change; they still believed that they were the elite of society. In the second World War period foreign professors who had fled from Germany had a big impact on Turkish academics, helping them to realise that they should work hard, do research, and not keep themselves aloof from the rest of society. German Professor Schwartz, who stayed in Turkey between 1933 and 1952, stated in a report that the 1933 reform did not meet expectations because:

> Most Turkish intellectuals had a feeling of inadequacy but were conceited and it was impossible to attract those who were genuinely hard-working and successful, moreover this lack of self-confidence among the intellectuals led them to attach great importance to rank and position and their private work rather than becoming personally involved in academic work.(1)

Under the 1946 University Law each faculty had a number of 'chairs' in specific subjects. Szyliowicz criticized the system:

> Unfortunately, the 'chair' system and the process by which a faculty member was hired and advanced up the academic ladder proved extremely rigid and concentrated power in the hands of a few individuals within the faculties so that personal considerations came to be dominant factors in almost all aspects of university life.(2)

Doğramacı subsequently blamed university autonomy for shortcomings in the university system, stating:

> 'university autonomy made it extremely difficult for the younger generation to become university teachers. The universities were frequently closed shops promoting teaching staff members from within, thus giving rise to inbreeding which gave little chance to outside applicants however qualified. In addition, certain regulations made it extremely difficult for the younger generation to become university teachers. Even the brightest candidates with research and teaching ability had to wait a minimum of four years after receiving their doctorates in order to be eligible to sit for a series of examinations taking a minimum of nine months, and leading to the so-called 'doçentship certificate'. Only after receipt of this certificate could the candidate apply for and be appointed to a position. Of course, this procedure limited the number of people available to take teaching positions. (3)

Doğramacı's criticism was true for the universities internal affairs; but with 1946 law universities were, as was discussed in Chapter 4, also subject to control from the Ministry of Education in the appointments and budget which placed the universities and the academics under political pressure from the government. The economic, social and political changes the country was facing had a big impact on the universities, and academics began to engage more and more in politics. The DP governments were increasingly criticised by academics and the government in 1953 passed three laws which put academic freedom in danger. The first, Law 6185, restricted the way university authorities could use their own budgets; the second, Law 6422, introduced compulsory retirement for all civil servants after twenty five years of service, and the last, Law 6435, said government employees could be dismissed by the authority which had appointed them. Also the government warned academics that they should restrict

themselves to "scientific, educational writing" instead of getting involved in "active partisan politics". (4)

The autonomous universities and their elitist academics would not close their eyes to the changes the Democrat Party was making to the country. Senior staff had become more and more involved in politics and in active opposition to government policies.

This provoked Prime Minister Menderes to dub them 'kara cüppeliler' (the men in black gowns). The conflict between universities and the government grew bigger over the years. First, in 1954, the government removed two academics from İstanbul University under Law 6435. Then it was so annoyed by the opportunities that university autonomy gave academics to criticise the government that they tried to place the Faculty of Political Science under the control of the Ministry of Education. Indeed, the dean, Professor Feyzioğlu, was transferred from his post to the Ministry of Education for making an anti-government speech. (5)

University lecturers were subjected to fierce government attack and their academic freedom and their freedom of thought were restricted. The universities became centres of political activity and the lecturers were involved in politics more than in their subjects. They criticised government policy severely. Without them the Democrat Party's regime could not have been overthrown.

6.1.3. TOWARDS 1960

The number of students enrolling in the three universities between 1945 and 1960 went up from 19,273 to 65,297, and the number of teaching staff in the same period rose from 1,388 to 4,071. The proportion of social science students increased from 44 per cent in 1945 to 50 per cent in 1959 while there was decline from 44 to 40 per cent of science students. The reason for this was mainly lack of resources; the social sciences did not need laboratories and expensive equipment. The number of professors did not keep pace with the number of students; their numbers rose from 199 to 484. The student-staff ratio went up from 37 to 50.

The salaries of university teachers declined in real terms. In particular, professors' salaries remained unchanged after 1955. Not surprisingly in this situation, conflict between the government and the professors grew rapidly. Because of their financial plight most professors took second jobs outside the universities.

The mode of instruction in the universities was distinguished by its heavy emphasis on rote learning. Work in connection with examinations took up at least three months of academics' time each year. Most of the examinations were oral examinations. If students failed they could take the examinations again as many times as they wanted as the universities were still under the influence of the German system.

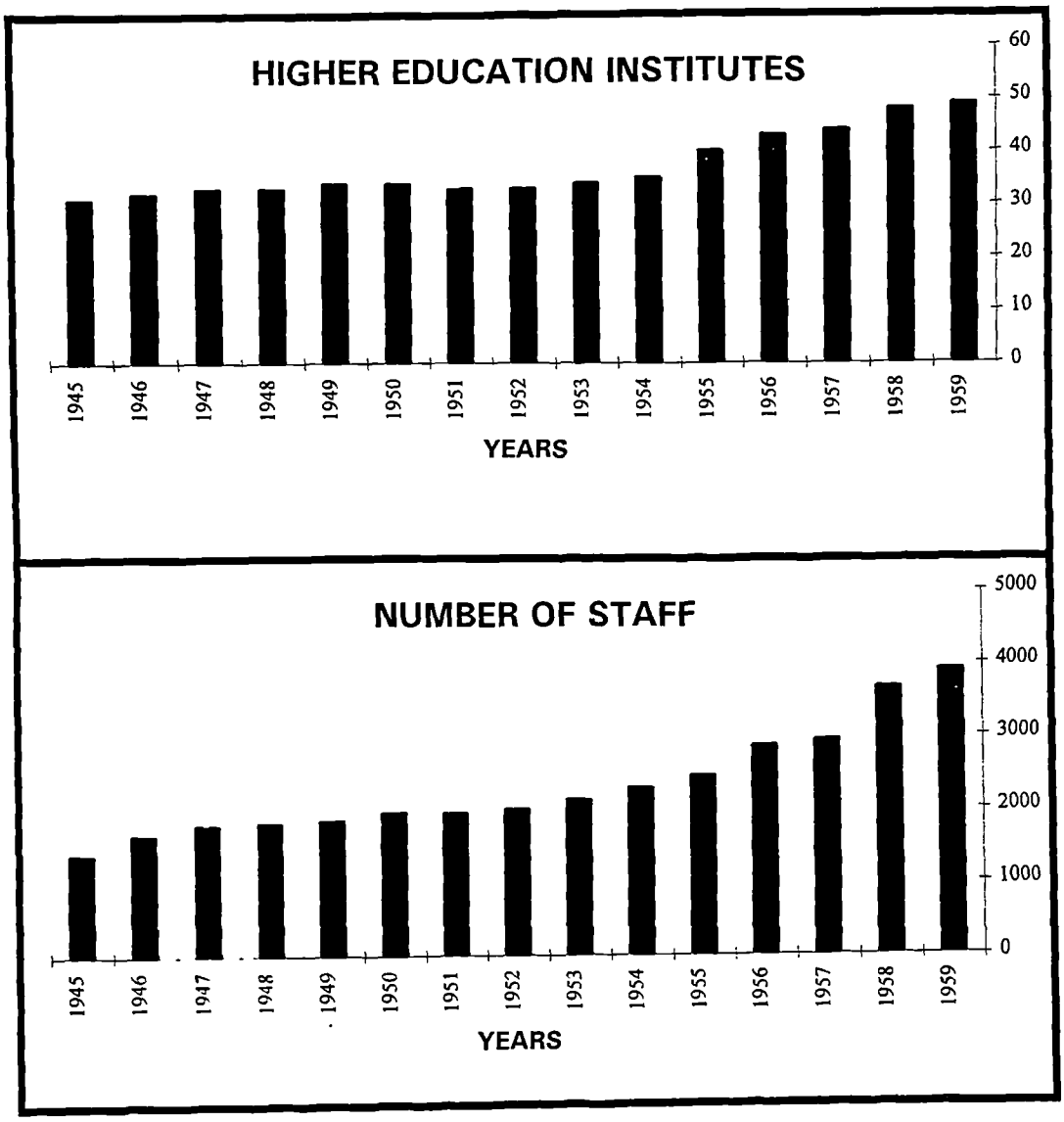

FIGURE 5. HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES AND STAFF NUMBERS 1945-1960.

Since student status conferred certain privileges such as reduced fares and since it was hard to find suitable employment, many students continued studying fruitlessly for years, a practice that represented a loss of human resources and money to the state.

The rapid rise in student numbers had various undesirable effects. There were no personal contacts between lecturers and students. In some subjects all the students could not attend the lectures because the auditoriums were not big enough. Indeed, there was a big problem with lecture rooms, especially in faculties of law in İstanbul and Ankara. (Enrolments in Law schools rose from 4,217 in 1945 to 14,531 in 1960)(6)

The university staff found their situation uncongenial. To make matters worse, the government was pushing them hard, blaming them for the student activism and trying to get rid of those who were against government policy.

In 1960 universities started to demonstrate against government policy, there were clashes between police and the students, and the police even attacked the Rector of İstanbul University, Sıddık Sami Onar. The economic conditions were distressing, the growing deficit in the budget and the foreign borrowings were frighteningly high. In other words the country was in chaos.

After the 27 May 1960 military coup, 147 faculty members were dismissed from the universities under Law 114 on grounds of

'incompetence, absenteeism, homosexuality and communist sympathy'.

According to Weiker:

> The most persistent report was of jealousy among certain faculty members who induced the National Unity Committee to accept their suggestions, and one newspaper reported a statement by two NUC members about help from 'scholarly delegation'. ...The most prevalent theory in Turkey has been that the action was instigated mainly by 'fourteen radicals' on the National Unity Committee. (7)

After continuous pressure from academics and students the 147 were reinstated in March 1962 under the new civilian government.

6.2. ACADEMICS AND THEIR RIGHTS AFTER THE NEW LAW

With the introduction of new rights and full autonomy with the constitution in 1961, the academics continued to get more and more involved in politics as they still saw themselves as the elite of the country and felt they could change society from the top down. A number of newly appointed assistants joined the students to protest about the economic problems of the country and the changes in the university hierarchy as well as to demand more democratic rights in the country at large. Some more senior academics worked for the different political parties, spending more and more time away from their teaching duties.

Meanwhile state universities remained as traditional as ever and it was very hard to become a professor or doçent. The young assistants

had to serve for years to become doçents. They were also poorly paid. The first Five Year Development Plan, published in 1963, provided 3,000 fellowships for graduates to go abroad. The programme was a failure, by the end of 1966 only 500 persons had been recruited.(14) Many faculty members preferred to train for their own purposes, because even a Ph D gained abroad did not mean that they could guarantee a faculty appointment immediately. First they had to get an "equivalence certificate" (after the Turkish authorities had deliberated at length on the worth of their foreign qualification) and they had to take a foreign language examination even though their Ph.D. was obtained in that language.

The administration process took months and at the end of it, the Ministry of Education could even make them work in the Ministry at a job that secondary school graduates could do easily. The Ministry had to write to each provincial university to see if there was a suitable vacancy there. If the answer from those universities was negative, the candidate was permitted to seek an assistantship post in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Some postgraduates with Ph Ds could not get teaching post because they had not worked first as assistants even if they had already taught in foreign universities. Young assistants with up-to-date knowledge were restricted to helping their professors in a lowly capacity. This period of service lasted between two and five years during which they could not give lectures but only help their professors to read the examination scripts and to do research.

In 1969-70 the number of assistants was 3,654 and most of them had a Ph D. (8)

To become a doçent was another struggle requiring the assistant lecturer to learn another foreign language and write another thesis, to spend more time gaining further experience so that it would take about ten to twelve years to become a senior faculty member. As Stirling writes:

> The system frustrates the able and ambitious, and suppresses or eliminates the unorthodox. It also fails in its main aim, to guarantee competence and propriety. (9)

To become a professor, the doçent had to learn yet another language and spend a few more years preparing another thesis and taking an interest in another topic. The professors could continue in office as long as they wanted to; there was no compulsory retirement age. The standard joke was: 'anyone who wants to become a young professor has to wish the old professors dead'. (10)

The professorial chairs and departmental headships were permanent. The senior professors could serve as deans and rectors in turn for short periods. These posts were very powerful but not very desirable.

The time spent for promotion in this hierarchy could be ill afforded in a country like Turkey. The university staff were not contributing as much as was necessary to the development of the country, as their most fruitful years were consumed in the struggle to achieve promotion

and tenure. This was a consequence of the favourable position the professors who had drawn up the country's new constitution managed to create for themselves. Since professors comprised only 20.4% of the academics and doçents 15.4%, the remaining 64% were assistants. Professors and doçents increasingly took on more than one job outside their own university while keeping their posts and letting assistants teach and do the rest of the academic work.(11)

Most academics were teaching in the private sector and were so involved with the political controversy that they could not pay proper attention to their main duties: teaching and research. University administrations were mostly run by highly politicized professors who split into separate groups according to their different views. University autonomy was abused to confer rewards for political allegiance and services. As Umunç notes:

> In the elections of university administrators, and in the appointment and promotion of some members of the academic staffs, political affiliation and ideological sympathies counted as much as merit, and perhaps more. For instance, at one university the electors were so rigid in their political and ideological attachments that the election of the new rector took more than six months.(12)

Administrative autonomy made the universities separate states within the state. As Karayalçın noted, 'autonomy in the long run lost its real function and began to be used as a shield for apathy, irresponsibility and political conflicts within the university'.(13) Besides all this, as mentioned earlier, the privilege of controlling teaching in the universities was the preserve of the professors and

doçents. The consequences were summed up an official of the Social Planning Division of the SPO who said that the country faced an educational crisis with a system that was unresponsive to economic needs, highly wasteful, and elitist.(14)

Although the ratio between full-time teachers and the students was 1 to 51,the official figures declared that the ratio was 1 to 18 as the government considered that all academic staff, including assistants, were teaching in 1970-71.(15)

Following the military "coup by communique" of 12 March 1971, four hundred intellectuals were arrested and the universities seemed on the point of being closed down. Between 1971 and 1973, 200 faculty members were arrested.(16) Many young people lost their lives in the political turmoil, mostly in furtherance of the ambitions of politicians.

Article 120 of the 1961 Constitution was amended and in 1973 the new University Law 1750 came into effect, restricting university autonomy and introducing a Council for the Universities. Both this law and the council were heavily criticised by university staff for laying the universities open to direct government interference.

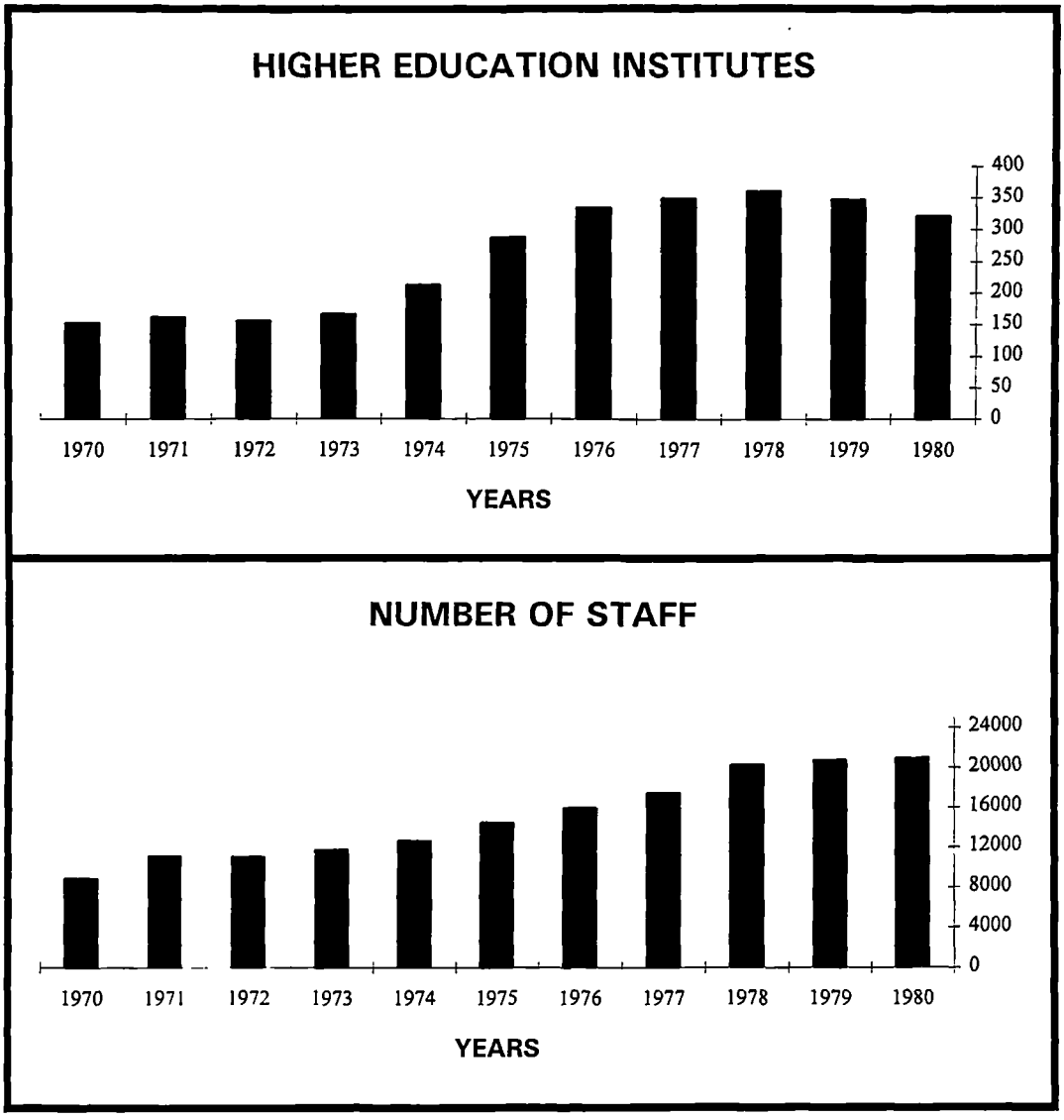

FIGURE 6. HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES AND STAFF NUMBERS 1960-1970.

6.3.1 THE LAW AND THE NEW UNIVERSITIES

Between 1971 and 1978 the number of universities rose from 9 to 18, but although applications from students almost doubled the number of enrolments declined.

Most academics rejected the idea of having provincial universities and did not agree to move to small towns. Universities there were spurned by most academics and left to cope on their own. The developed universities, on the other hand, suffered from an excess of staff. So their professors and doçents took advantage of the situation by teaching in the provincial universities for a single day at a time and returning to their own universities the same day or letting their young assistants teach for them at those universities without any extra money. Such people became known as 'flying professors'. As Doğramacı commented:

> they...delivered their lectures and returned immediately to their own cities, making them totally unavailable to students in need of explanations outside the classroom. (17)

At the same time the differences between the teachers in the universities and the other higher education institutions which were attached to the Ministry of Education were growing. They were all teaching and doing research but there was a wide difference in status between those in universities and those in the other institutions. Those in the universities were free to go and teach in other

institutions to make extra money whereas those in institutions that did not enjoy the status of autonomous universities were obliged to do as they were told by the Ministry of Education, being in effect treated as school teachers and consequently looked down upon by university teachers. But their graduates were in the job market and applying for the same jobs as the university graduates. There was no co-ordination and no manpower planning between them.

Every economic and political crisis increased the anarchy in the country. Left and right wing clashes between the students brought the army and the police into the universities. Some of the lectures were delivered with police controlling order in the lecture rooms. Between 1978 and 1980, there were many serious attacks on university teachers, and six professors were killed - all by right wing terrorists. But none of the murderers has ever been caught.

In the country as a whole, in the same period 5241 people were killed and 14,152 wounded in a total of 32,893 violent incidents, and 22,000 firearms seized.(18) The casualties were mostly students and other young people.

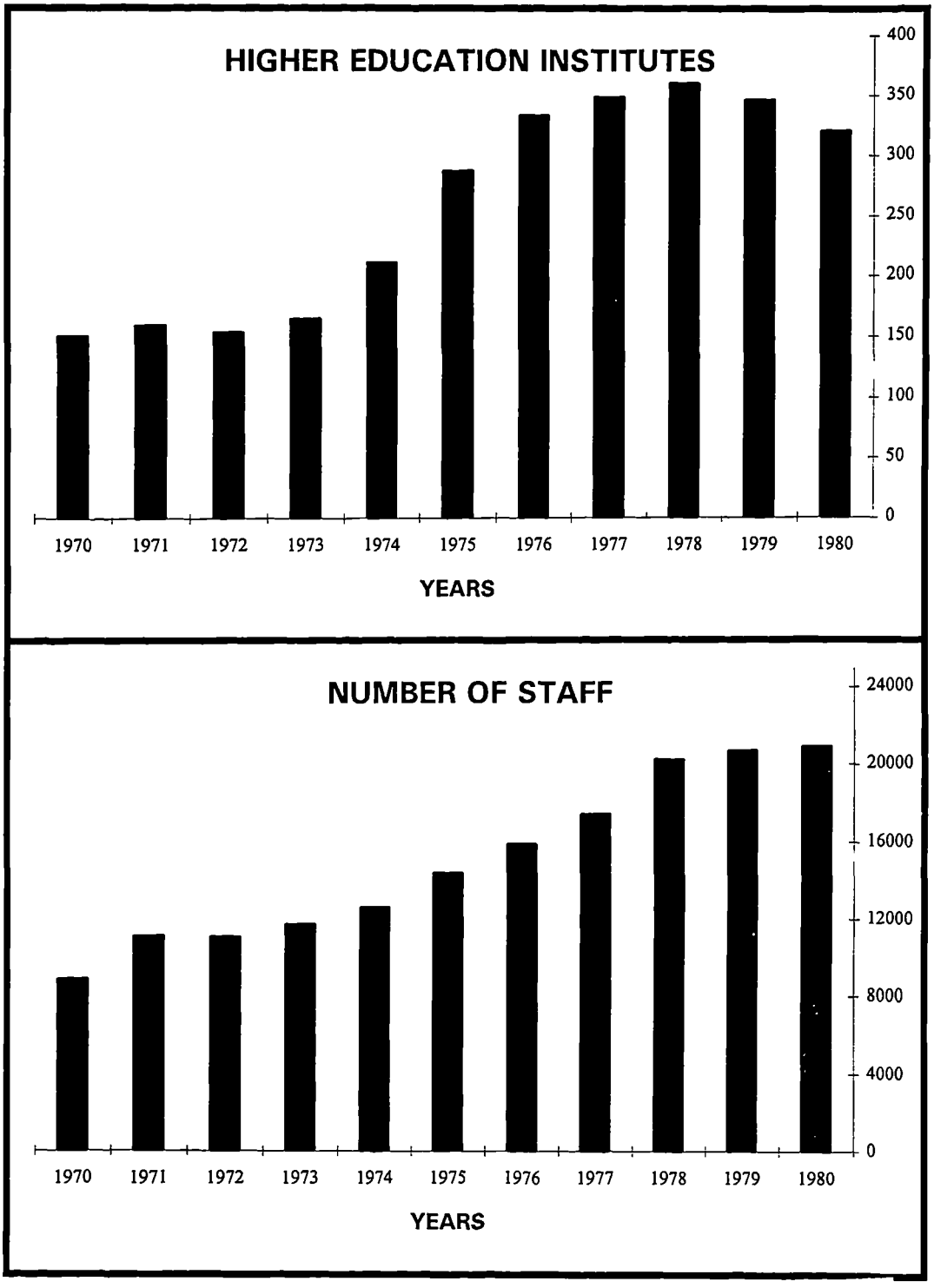

FIGURE 7. HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES AND STAFF NUMBERS 1970-1980.

6.3.2. STAFF REDUNDANCIES

The articles of Law 2547 relating to staff were discussed in Chapter 5. As a result of the law, staff throughout the country had to give the same lectures leading to same qualifications regardless of which university they were in. Also staff posts were graded according to the same system all over the country and given fixed titles and the same salary was set for each grade. However, in order to encourage staff to work in the less attractive places and universities a special additional percentage of that basic salary was awarded as a bonus to those working in what were termed deprived areas. Thus, in Selçuk University, Konya, for example an additional 25% was paid, and in the far east of the country an additional 100% was paid.

On the recommendation of YÖK, the Turkish Parliament added new provisions to the YÖK Law 2547 on April 1982. The addition to Article 22 was regarded as the most dangerous. This new appendix stated: "teaching staff who act in a manner contrary to the higher education law's aims and principles or the order of the system may be removed from their posts by YÖK acting on its own initiative or on the recommendation of the rector".

The aims of the law were described in Article 5, which was easy to misuse against any staff who found themselves in disagreement with their rector.

Doğramacı defended the new change in the law:

> There is only one set of principles and that is Atatürk's principles. The aim of YÖK is to pursue Atatürk's principles. If anybody opposes these principles they will be dismissed from the universities. (19)

Under the new system academics lost their job security completely. They also lost self esteem; whereas their jobs had previously been the most sought after and they had enjoyed autonomy now they were subject to control and their security was dependent on political attitudes. These restrictions were resented and had adverse effects on teaching and research.

In August 1982 twenty two new rectors were appointed. On October 25 1982, the new dress regulations were published. Civil servants who failed to dress in accordance with Atatürk's principles became liable for punishment. The document was signed by the prime minister and accepted also by Doğramacı for the all faculty and students. The following translated extract was published in Britain by the Association of University Teachers:

A. For women

1. Hair should be clean, combed and put up.
2. Make-up should be plain.
3. Clothing should be dark colour in the winter, and light during the summer. It should be befitting a government worker and be clean, orderly and ironed.
4. Shoes should be dark in colour with normal length heels.
5. In keeping with a characteristic of the work place, and with permission of the authorities, slacks (not jeans) that are not too tight or loose may be worn.

B. For men

1. Hair should be cut so that it does not cover the ears and does not extend beyond collar line. Men must shave daily.
2. Although one may grow moustache, it should not extend beyond the lips and should be natural, clean and combed.
3. Shirts in all seasons should be preferably white or light in colours.
4. Jackets and trousers should be in the same or matching colours.
5. One must wear a tie between 15 October and 15 May. One may go without a jacket and tie in the summer only with the written permission of the authorities.

Signed
The Prime Minister.(20)

Some staff resigned because they did not want to shave off their beards. Professor Emre Kongar from Hacettepe University was one of them. Some, like Doçent Erhan Acar from the Middle East Technical University, were dismissed by rectors for not obeying the regulation to remove their beards.

The wearing of head scarves became a matter for heated debate when Professor Nebahat Koru was dismissed for wearing one. Later, in December 1986 a new YÖK regulation stated that no male student with a 'religiously shaped beard' and no female student wearing a headscarf would be allowed to enter the university.(21)

In October, YÖK demanded that faculty members send in details of their courses and the books used on them. On 13 October 1982 YÖk had a circular sent to the universities and Chief of the General Staff and to the Ministry of Defence about the courses on 'Atatürk's Principles'

and 'History of the Revolution' that had to be taught at all universities for four years using only only eight prescribed books. Three of these were armed forces publications used in military colleges; two of them were speeches of Atatürk himself and the other three were by a Kemalist historian. But still some of the professors were not satisfied with these measures and they were still worried that even though the staff sent in their course materials there could be still anti-regime materials in the lecture rooms. One of the pro-YÖK professors complained to his friend: 'they keep their reading list clean but talk about Marxism in the courses'.(22)

As can be clearly seen, there was great concern in YÖK and amongst its supporters about their new system and they sought by every possible means to protect it from any kind of opposition.

6.4. THE UNIVERSITIES AND NOVEMBER 1982

November was not a good month for the university staff in 1982. According to YÖK's report on the year's work, dismissal of research assistants began in November. In accordance with temporary article 15 the universities had started to declare their yearly contracted research assistants redundant, as they had completed a year of service. Research assistants, some of whom had been working years in the universities, and some of whom were ready to become Doçents

(Associate Professors), were dismissed on purely legal and technical grounds. Dismissals started at the Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi (Black Sea Technical University) and spread to the Ege (Agean), Ankara, Gazi, Selçuk, and İstanbul universities. It was the universities themselves and not YÖK who actually dismissed the staff concerned on the grounds that there was an excess of staff in those universities. There were widespread allegations that the staff chosen for dismissal were those considered politically or personally unacceptable to their superiors in the university hierarchy. Some deans and rectors used the dismissals to get rid of lazy and inefficient staff but some took the opportunity to get rid of those holding opposite ideas to themselves. As universities became more closely controlled by the government through YÖK, the dismissals were seen as a way of getting rid of YÖK's opponents. One example is the dismissal of Dr. Baskın Oran from the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. He had worked for the university for fourteen years and was dismissed by the Head of the International Relations Department, economist Professor Aydın Yalçın, known for his conservative views. He cited surplus staff as the grounds for this dismissal.(23) Later Dr Oran took the university to the court and won but he was dismissed by the Martial Law commander two hours later.(24)

Although staff shortages existed in other universities these persons were not even considered for appointment there.

The largest number of dismissals came from the Political Science Faculty, Ankara University. The reason was attributed to the dean of

the faculty Professor Necdet Serin's desire to change the staff (kadro). The events in Gazi University, Ankara, were also noteworthy. The rector dismissed 20 research assistants. Some of the senior staff, including Doçent Ergun Türkcan, protested against the dismissals and some of them tendered their resignations to the rector, not expecting them to be accepted. In the end the rector withdrew the dismissals of the research assistants but accepted the resignations of the senior staff. (25)

A total of 300 staff were dismissed from the universities. They had all worked for years in the universities but were dismissed with a curt note stating, "Your employment has been terminated".

Critics said the dismissals were due to the head of department's dislike of the staff members concerned. They pointed out that staff with doctorates who were dismissed under Article 23 if they had not completed the requirements for the Yardımcı Doçent (Assistant Professorship), could have been appointed as research assistants or teaching assistants under Articles 31 and 32. Such a big waste of qualified staff could have been avoided had they been included in the lottery with other excess staff available to be sent to the newly opened provincial universities. The assistants should not have been dismissed; their posts should have been made more attractive than the short-term contracts they had become in Turkey, a country trying to fulfil Atatürk's dream by attaining contemporary levels of civilisation.

To achieve that goal Turkey needed qualified, well-educated university teachers to train the young generation.

In 1980 student intake numbered 41.574, in 1982, that figure rose to 54,818 and in 1983 it reached 72,983 despite a reduction in staff numbers.(26)

6.4.1. ROTATION

The staff shortages in various provincial universities were to be filled by reallocating staff under the "rotation system" previously mentioned. Again there were accusations of impropriety in the execution of the draw to decide who would be assigned to these universities. There were numerous instances of favouritism that undermined the credibility of the system. The newspapers were full of reports of such maladministration.

Again, in the same month the first lottery had to drawn in accordance with the YÖK law articles 40 and 41. The idea was to assign some staff for a certain period to the unpopular newly open provincial areas. 350 lecturers volunteered to go to the less popular areas.(27) Under YÖK law articles 25 and 26, to be appointed as doçent or professor the candidate has to change university. That was what motivated many of the the volunteers for transfer; they were after promotion and therefore went of their own free will. But those who refused to go were dismissed in accordance with the same articles.

Those who agreed to move had to leave the university they were attached to and go for two years to the other university. The rotation was not as drastic as it sounded; most posts were filled by the volunteers, and the universities that wanted to get rid of unwanted staff did so. Some of them resigned because of their family commitments, some went quietly. But after the lottery some staff just went for as short a period as two months or so and some instead of being appointed to provincial universities were sent for a year to another big university. In the autumn of 1983 the rotation system was abandoned quietly and in its place new legislation allowed temporary appointment of teaching staff to any university of their choice.

6.4.2. PUBLIC ORDER ACT

In December 1982 article 2 of Public Order Act 1402 dealing with martial law was amended to give authorities the power to dismiss any public civil servant including all university staff without giving any explanation. The new paragraph states:

> The appointment, according to their status, or termination of employment of civil servants whose work is deemed undesirable from the point of view of general security and public order and the removal from duty or termination of employment of those working in local administrations is within the authority of the martial law commander of the area concerned.

And the third sentence of this addendum read: "Officials whose employment has been thus terminated shall not be eligible for re-employment in the public sector".

Public Order Act 1402 was the worst ever for the universities. The martial law authorities interfered in the university administrations and dismissed staff on their own initiative. In a few months 70 professors and doçents were dismissed from the various universities. These professionals were not involved in any political activities and some of them were known internationally. Among the best known were Prof. Cem Eroğul, Prof. Rona Aybay, Prof. Korkut Boratav, Prof Cevat Geray, Prof. Bahri Savcı, and Prof. Güney Gönenç. Some young members of staff who had not completed the 25 years' service needed to qualify for a pension were left without any salary to survive on and were not allow to work in the public service again. About 200 senior staff resigned in protest at the action taken within the universities. When journalists put questions to him on this subject Doğramacı discreetly replied, "it is not your job or ours to produce any commentaries."(28)

Commenting on the resignations, he said:

> Every year sees some resignations... Some of these come from teaching staff who can get astronomical wages ... these go to the Arab countries, certain African countries, Kuwait. Others are those teachers who cannot fully cope with their duties.... We have had no demands from universities saying that they have a need for teaching staff on account of resignations.(29)

The dismissals continued in 1983. Another 100 senior staff were dismissed under the Public Order Act 1402. Some of the dismissed staff took their university to court. Most won and returned to their university but in a short while they were dismissed again either under a new law or under the martial law again. They went to court to clear their name and regain their self-respect by going back to their posts again even for a day. Those who were dismissed could not get a job for years; some started to teach on the university preparatory courses and some started to write books. They were not allowed to enter the universities and or university libraries. Most of them found it very hard to rebuild their lives and careers after the age of 30 and the majority of them still had financial problems years later. The manpower loss to the universities was huge, as was the waste to the nation that had spent large sums of money to train them.

The universities came to be regarded as heavily controlled prisons for the staff who remained. They were treated badly by the police and the army. They lost their integrity and self-respect in front of the students and the public. They were given the tasks of preventing students from being absent and ensuring they wore appropriate clothing. Lectures had to be delivered in the manner prescribed by YÖK. Their articles and papers had to be approved by department heads or rectors in accordance with article 42, so their freedom to publish was removed and especially in the social sciences it required a great effort to write a paper acceptable to the authorities, but failure to do so could lose them their jobs. The universities, lacking freedom

of thought and creativeness and were put on a par with other public organizations that they always were under government control.

On the other hand, some people gained a great deal. The staff in the teacher training colleges, higher education schools and vocational higher education colleges were upgraded according to the number of years they had worked. Staff with eight or more years' service were promoted to the rank of doçent, while fifteen or more years' work secured the equivalent of a professorship in these institutions. In accordance with the new regulations some doçents who had no Ph.D. first passed the adequacy exams for doçentship and became doçent, and then wrote their Ph D thesis afterwards. Most of them were graduates of teacher training colleges who became teachers and then academics. This caused some discontent amongst other academic staff. But those who became doçents were quite content with their new posts and defended the new law. The public thought the academic titles had become debased. In addition to this the new law did away with the requirement for a thesis for promotion to doçent and professor. The staff who wanted to get academic promotion after passing the language tests only had to have published papers and articles (even articles in in the daily newspapers counted). Some even applied for promotion to doçent or professor simply on the grounds that their names had been mentioned in foreign journals. Such actions caused considerable embarrassment to other academics. YÖK was readily bestowing academic titles upon staff they wanted to upgrade.

One new measure of great importance was an annual evaluation of every academic except the head of YÖK himself to be carried out by their close supervisors. It was necessary for promotion and continuation of employment. This document was most secret and once completed nobody could change it. The Turkish Official Gazette of 3 March 1984 listed the points to be covered:

1. Belief in the principles and reforms of the Atatürk
2. Belief in Atatürkist nationalism
3. Attachment to the principle of justice and objectivity in the course of carrying out tasks
4. Ability to bring staff together under principles of Atatürk and the power and spirit to strengthen national unity
5. Ability to resist extremist movements (communism, fascism, a theocratic state) and separatism
6. General behaviour, attention to clothing, maturity, politeness
7. Ability to resist temptation and dishonourable action
8. Ability to resist self-interest
9. Ability to withstand physical and psychological pressure
10. The morals of the person being rated, their spouse, and their family situation
11. Ability to plan and evaluate
12. Capacity to co-operate and educate others
13. Ability to co-ordinate, execute and follow
14. Understanding of regulations with respect to work and profession, responsibility in carrying out work fully and on time
15. Ability to keep secrets and obey secret orders
16. Ability to follow new developments in the field, research and publications
17. Ability to teach and explain
18. Foresight and creativity
19. Capacity to use knowledge and abilities for the service of their country and humanity
20. Capacity to set a good example on the basis of scientific, moral and intellectual abilities
21. Ability to utilize manpower, money and equipment in the correct time and place
22. Ability to coordinate with other institutions, adaptability
23. Love and concern for those working in subordinate positions , ability to win their love and support
24. Ability to use powers and authority as an official
25. Ability and courage to take initiative and make quick decisions. (30)

6.5. ACADEMIC STAFF AFTER 1981 FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES

While the staff, students, press and public were criticising YÖK and its law, the council was established and started to work on 23 December 1981. The aims of the council, as described in the book YÖK published, were:

1. To spread higher education institutions all around the country, while providing higher education for a higher proportion of today's population.
2. To provide higher education with realistic planning, coordination and inspection, while preventing wastage of resources.
3. To carry out the higher education institution's education-training and research activities at an internationally acceptable level and ensure that these institutions tackle the problems that society wants solved. (31)

YÖK first increased the number of the universities from 19 to 29 in 1982. It then moved on to increase the student intake from 41,574 in 1980 to 72,983 in 1982. 6% of the 20-24 age-group were students in higher education in 1980 and this proportion rose to 6.3% in 1983. YÖK's own report and also the State Planning Organization's report stated that this number was far too low compared with other developing countries such as Syria 14%, the Philippines 24%, and India 8%. (32) In comparison with western countries Turkey was even further behind: USA 56%, Western Europe average 32%, Bulgaria 22%, Greece 22%. (33)

According to the two yearly statement these figures required YÖK to open new institutions and take more students. The student intake to

medical schools showed a 133% increase in 1983 over the 1980 figure.(34)

As for the staff, YÖK stated that 'there was no balanced distribution amongst the staff' so it 'has introduced new rules to provide the balance... The excessive staff in the big cities will be dealt as time passes'.(35) Promotions in the large universities were in a sense frozen; staff who wanted to be promoted had to move on. Young, talented and ambitious staff members could move and gain promotion in the provincial universities.

In 1980-1981, the number of professors, doçents and yardımcı doçents was 4,905 according to YÖK's two yearly report. In 1980 the total number of staff in the 18 universities was 15,502.(36) (It can be assumed that the rest of the 10,597 staff were research assistants, and instructors.) According to YÖK the numbers of senior staff professors, doçents and yardımcı doçents were not evenly distributed around the country. In November 1981 there were 3,156 senior staff in seven large universities in Ankara, İstanbul and Izmir. In another 9 universities in Anatolia the number totalled 85. In the next two years this number in 9 universities went up from 85 to 286 and if yardımcı doçents were included it rose to 570.(37) Doğramacı in his paper gave junior and senior staff/student ratios for November 1984:

> ..A more striking change is that of the number of junior and senior staff. The 15 universities outside the major cities now have a student/staff ratio of 18.6 to 1. This ratio approaches 15.8 students per faculty member in the 12 universities of the three major cities. This development is dramatic if we consider the ratios that prevailed 3 years ago: 1:34 in the better staffed

universities and as low as 1:200 in the less privileged provincial ones. (38)

Type of H.E.Ins	Staff	Students	Ratio
Universities	15,502	165,647	10.6
Academies	722	9,561	13.2
Hig. Educ. Ins.	4,033	52,419	12.9
Open Learning (Yay-Kur)	660	9,742	14.7
Total	20,917	237,369	11.3

TABLE 3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF/ STUDENTS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS TYPES OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION IN THE YEAR 1980- 1981 (39)

Years	Staff	Students	Ratio
1980-1981	20,917	237,369	11.3
1981-1982	22,223	240,000	10.7
1982-1983	21,814	282,000	12.9
1983-1984	20,333	322,000	15.8
1984-1985	21,949	398,000	18.1
1989-1990	32,039	644,835	20.1
1992-1993	38,483	915,765	23.7

TABLE 4. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF STAFF, STUDENTS AND RATIO IN HIGHER EDUCATION FOR EACH OF THE YEAR 1980-1993. (40)

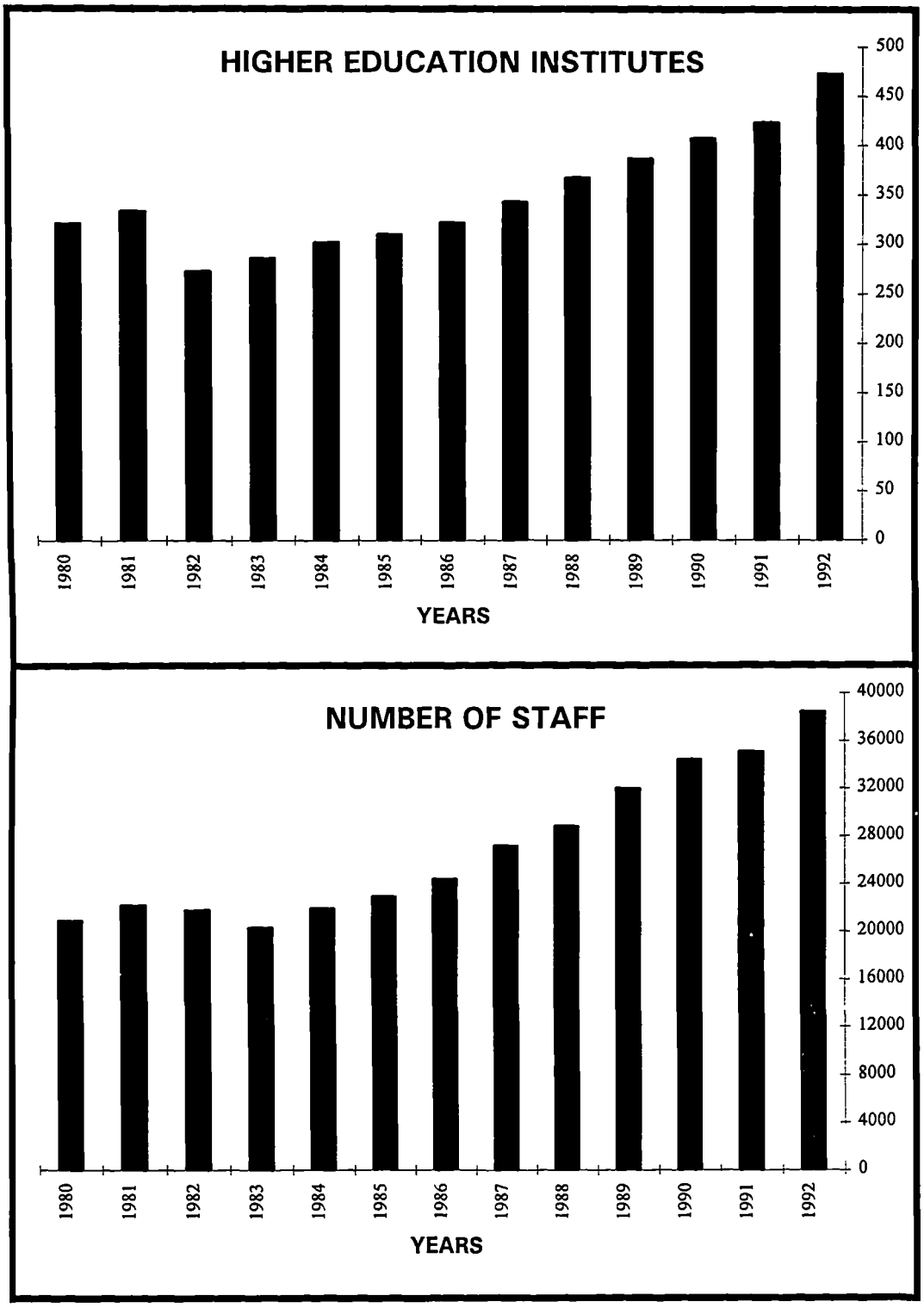

FIGURE 8. HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTES AND STAFF NUMBERS 1980-1992.

As the above tables shows, because of the greatly increased student numbers the overall staff/student ratio worsened during this period. As the YÖK Law was passed after the academic year 1981-82 had begun, its effects were not clearly apparent until the year 1982-83. They can be clearly seen in 1982-1983 as academies became universities and the other higher education institutions were attached to them. Also in 1982, as previously noted, the dismissals began and then, in 1983, redundancies showed their effect in 1983-1984, so the total number of staff went down to 20,333, a decrease of 584 according to the State Statistics Institute.

The figures require some further explanation. The number of staffemployed in the universities that were in existence before YÖK came into being fell because of redundancies, dismissals and resignations, but, by adding in all the higher education institutions' staff numbers and employing more contracted tutors from the two-year courses in higher education colleges, the numbers in the new provincial universities increased after YÖK. Many of these were staff promoted by YÖK to become doçents and professors. Nevertheless, the number of professors fell by 370 and doçents rose by only 122 in the first two years of YÖK's existence.

	1980	1983	1985	1989	1992
Professors	2,245	1,875	1,877	4,527	5,035
Doçents	2,344	2,466	2,899	2,481	3,531
Y.Doçents	316*	2,484	2,484	3,265	4,237
Totals	4,905	6,825	7,260	10,273	12,803

TABLE 5. ACADEMIC STAFF NUMBERS 1980-1992. (41)
(* in 1980 there was no post called *yardımcı doçent* but YÖK's two yearly book lists 316). (42)

As we can see from YÖK'S own publication, the number of professors, had not even recovered by 1985, four years after the law came into effect; there were still 368 fewer professors than in 1980. The professor/student ratio declined after 1980 up to 1986 and recovered in 1989 but by then it had still not reached the 1980 figure.

The information published by YÖK needs to be treated with some caution. It does not specify how many promotions YÖK has made, and it is not possible to calculate accurately the number of professors and doçents who left voluntarily or were dismissed from universities. Doğramacı claimed that, as a result of the new law, in the universities that previously had the least staff "the total number of faculty members has increased eightfold". (43) YÖK never mentioned the total numbers; usually in their publications they refer to 'the nine

least developed universities and the seven universities in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir', so the information given is insufficient to show development in general terms. However, according to a SPO (State Planning Office) report published on 10 August 1984, the number of staff working in higher education had declined.(44) In an interview with the weekly *Yankı*, Professor Türkan Akyol, the former rector of Ankara University, the decrease in staff numbers between 1981-82 and 1983-84 amounted to 636 professors and 516 doçents.(45)

The daily newspaper, Cumhuriyet published series of articles about YÖK, called ' YÖK Dosyası' (The YÖK File) in October 1985. In these articles, Şahin Alpay presented detailed information about the staff who had left or been made to leave. These showed that, contrary to YÖK's claim, the number of professors and doçents had actually declined. According to these articles, Professor Doğramacı asserted several times that 'there was no university left with staff shortages', but these claims did not take into account the number of new universities, increased student numbers and the decline in staff numbers. YÖK was unable to provide the writer with information about the numbers of permanent staff (kadro) available at each university.(46)

The monthly magazine Bilim ve Sanat published 1300 names of university staff members claiming in their February and April 1984 periodicals, that they had left or been made to leave

In response to this claim, the head of YÖK made a public statement in May 1984. This was summarized and commented upon as follows by Alpay:

1. YÖK accepted that 638 'öğretim yardımcısı' staff were actually dismissed as their contracts were not renewed. 'But most of them were medical doctors who did not want to do their compulsory service'. However, when the list was re-examined it was found that only 40 had not wanted to do the compulsory service, so they did not form a majority of the cases. But YÖK still maintained there was a 'big increase' in the number of staff. Bilim ve Sanat claimed that the increase was due to the increased number of teachers who were working in teacher training colleges.

2. YÖK accepted that *'yardımcı doçents'* (assistant doçents) had been dismissed from the universities after two years service when their contracts were not renewed but did not mention whether or not their posts were filled.

3. YÖK agreed that more than 400 professors had left the universities for various reasons (to work in companies and in foreign countries, to take part in politics, to start their own business). However, in contrast to the 'ones who left', YÖK also showed that there were more than 600 new professors and doçents who were working in the universities. But most of these were not new; they had already been working in the universities and been reappointed by YÖK. Thus YÖK's explanations served merely to obscure the true situation.

4. YÖK accused some professors (such as Münci Kapani) who resigned in protest against YÖK of leaving the university to take part in politics or join private companies. (47)

In conclusion, it is clear that many staff members who had given years of service to the universities left or were forced to leave. YÖK subsequently replaced some of them by making new appointments. Many of those who left the universities continued various academic activities outside the universities, publishing books or magazines, translating works on their subjects from other languages, while some went to work in the other countries or in various companies.

YÖK has consistently taken a tough line against university staff. Some staff members have become accustomed to such treatment and now accept it as normal but most have resisted and become resentful. Conditions of work remain undesirable, especially in the provincial universities. But YÖK's pressure is maintained: in December 1984, YÖK send a written order to the universities stating that the staff and students had to be watched and inspected by the rectors.(48)

The quality of staff declined over the years because the posts were not attractive to young and talented people. To become an academic was like becoming a school teacher; academic perfectionism and search for truth were abandoned in pursuit of short term political ideas.

6.6. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LAW

In the following years the YÖK law has been changed extensively by governmental decrees, new articles and YÖK regulations. The YÖK law itself has been changed three times and the regulations 52 times, while post- graduate regulations changed 10 times. The least changed regulations were the purchasing regulations and they had undergone three changes by April 1985. According to Cumhuriyet, YÖK had changed the regulations every 13 days.(49) Up to 1990 the YÖK law had been amended fifteen times.(50)

The YÖK law created a centralist system under which YÖK made decisions and regulations in isolation from the universities but the universities were obliged to carry them out. Then, if the regulations proved impractical, YÖK amended them again. The constant changes caused the loss of a lot of time and money. One YÖK administrator said of the Council, "it is an institution that is trying to sort out the problems it created itself". The same person admitted, "the law says 'a doçent cannot become a professor within the same university but YÖK cheats against this article and appoints the person as a professor in another university, probably within the same city, and gives a duty to this professor in his own university."(51) Nobody could follow the regulations YÖK changed over the years the staff became powerless before the administrators.

Over the years YÖK's status became more powerful than government ministries. It could change the law by means of decrees and regulations. YÖK published so many regulations that even the council members lost count of them. This constant change gave a strong impression to the government that YÖK's policy was not working. Within the universities discontent grew among staff and students at the restrictions placed upon their freedom and the prescriptive nature of the many rules and regulations they had to observe. Sometimes this discontent manifested itself in the form of hunger strikes and other such protests, but YÖK endeavoured to suppress all opposition.

In August 1987 the Inter-university Board decided that doçents could become professors in the university they were already working in if

there were posts available. In practice, this only affected the staff of universities in the three big cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, as members of provincial universities were already being promoted within their own universities as staff shortages there required. Doğramacı justified the alteration in the regulation on the grounds that vacancies in the provincial universities were to a large extent filled. (52) The main aim of YÖK and the YÖK law was to overcome the staff shortages in the provincial cities, and, according to Doğramacı, YÖK achieved this goal in five years.

At the same time the government's policies were becoming more populist and MPs began promising their constituents that they would have universities opened in their cities regardless of the cost or even of the need for a university there. Despite that, the proportion of funds allocated to higher education in the national budget was shrinking. YÖK claimed credit for cutting the cost of education. Expenditure for higher education as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product shown for the various years were as follows:

Years	Expenditure for Higher Education as a percentage of GDP
1979	0.78%
1980	0.65%
1981	0.71%
1982	0.63%
1983	0.83%
1984	0.64%
1985	0.54%
1986	0.56%
1987	0.55%
1988	0.61%
1989	0.64%

TABLE 6. EXPENDITURE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT FOR THE VARIOUS YEARS. (53)

The number of secondary school graduates from ordinary secondary schools and vocational, including religious, secondary schools was growing and YÖK was admitting more of them to universities, especially the Open University. The Open University was another indication that the government was eager to produce more and more graduates from the masses without thinking of the quality of the education provided or the job prospects after graduation.

Deanships and departmental headships in the universities were increasingly given to young academics as they were likely to prove

more pliable and obedient to the wishes of YÖK than older, more experienced professors.

On 21 December 1987, the Official Gazette published a new governmental decree that had the force of law (kanun hükmündeki kararname). It stated the changes in YÖK. The main changes were:

1. Article 6 was amended and the number of YÖK members was reduced from 26 to 24. Of these, the number to be appointed by the Head of State was reduced from eight to seven, but the number appointed by the Council of Ministers went up from 6 to 7, thus equalling the number appointed by the Head of State. The Inter-university Board's appointees fell from eight to seven. The Armed Forces retained their single representative and the number from the Ministry of Education remained two.

The net effect of this amendment was to give more power to the government in university affairs; the government representatives on the Board could always command a majority of votes.

2. The tenure of Council membership was reduced from eight to four years.

3. Membership of YÖK's Executive Committee was fixed at nine.(54)

The status of YÖK over ten years was discussed widely and in 1990 Avni Akyol, the Minister of Education, sent a letter asking the

universities their opinion of YÖK and the YÖK law. Only three universities sent replies to Akyol. The reason for this poor response may be attributed to most rectors' fear of YÖK, which had warned universities that they could be punished if they submitted negative views. According to the newspapers, although most universities in fact had a negative attitude towards YÖK, they did not dare to say so.

The law gave the power to YÖK to establish higher education policy, to make regulations for these policies and apply them in higher education while coordinating and controlling how it worked. So YÖK and Doğramacı, who was head of it, acquired power at the expense of the institutions.

Since 1987 politicians had promised to change the law 'in accordance with today's conditions'. Professor Ziya Bursalıoğlu summarized the government's policies in Çağdaş Eğitim:

> According to Turgut Özal's cabinet programme on 25.12.1987: 'The YÖK law will be changed according to today's needs after evaluating how it has been applied up to the present'.
> The same expression was repeated in Yıldırım Akbulut's cabinet programme on 30 October 1989. Less than two years later, Mesut Yılmaz's cabinet programme, issued on 30 June 1991, stated: 'the application and the results of the YÖK law will be scrutinized'
> On 25 November 1991 Demirel's government promised to have a more detailed higher education policy: 'Our government will carry out fundamental reform. The universities will be given academic and administrative authority. The YÖK system will be abolished and the universities will be given the authority to manage themselves by a self-elected structure. In this way our government will acquire for Turkey universities which are free and autonomous and have best possible financial resources.(55)

By this time it seemed that YÖK and the universities were going nowhere, and the market economy created by Özal's policy also seemed to be at a standstill. The country needed a better education model if the Turkish economy was to compete with the outside world. The Turkish Industrialist and Businessmen's Association (TÜSİAD) said in a special report on higher education which it published on 1 July 1990:

> To ensure the necessary structural adjustment for scientific and technological development, universities should cease to depend upon public funding, and must given the opportunity to develop into decentralized enterprises based upon public and private funding. (56)

6.7. UNIVERSITIES ESTABLISHED BY CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS

One of the most discussed issues from 1986 onwards was the appearance of non-state universities exercising the rights granted by Article 130 of the 1982 constitution. (57) The first private university to be opened after 1970, when all the private higher education institutions had been closed and banned by the government, was Bilkent University in Ankara. This was opened in 1986 by Doğramacı Foundations and was run by their board of trustees. The government gave private foundations special permission to set up private universities that were not subject to the same restrictions as the state universities. Bilkent University aimed to become an élite university offering higher standards to students and staff in order to produce a technocratic élite. Student fees were high. Bright students who could pass the entrance exam but could not afford the fees were able to get grants

from the foundation. Soon afterwards others, especially religious foundations, started to establish their own universities.

This emergence of charitable foundation universities introduced a new danger. After 1980 official attitudes to Islam softened and then became increasingly encouraging. Secularists became increasingly concerned about this development. Ever since Adnan Menderes came to power in 1950 the popular perception had been that right wing governments were tolerant towards Islam. In fact since 1980, large groups of intellectuals have been subscribing to the "Turkish Islamic Synthesis". Apparently they believe that westernization in the Turkish republic failed because Turkey did not follow the "appropriate educational policies". They claimed that the republican educational system had ignored and had disrupted the national culture and Islamic values which constituted the cultural heritage in the Ottoman era. The Aydınlar Ocağı (Intellectuals' Hearth), a discussion group formed in 1970, believed that the way out for the country was "to integrate the Islamists and the nationalists".(58)

As already discussed in Chapter 5, after the 1980 coup, the state strongly emphasised "national culture" in higher education as well as at secondary and primary levels. The Turkish-Islamist followers believe that religion "is the essence of culture" and this is specifically "true for the Turkish culture".(59) So the state has to promote both the "national culture" and religion at the same time. Therefore it is not surprising that religious education had been made compulsory in primary and secondary schools on 1 September 1982 before

the constitution was accepted by referendum. The process was accelerated under the Özal government and during his presidency. He made concessions to the Islamists in both educational and political fields. In her discussion of Özal's policies, Binnaz Toprak states:

> it is suggested that Turkey should pursue a new path of development which emphasizes the priority of spiritual reawakening as a prerequisite for economic growth. In this quest, Islam is expected to play a significant role in minimizing the social conflicts that might ensue as a result of rapid industrialization and fierce competition in the market. An important document on the new ideology summarizes the point succinctly: "Science, without religion, is the source off all disasters". (DPT) (60)

That attitude was not shared by all concerned in Turkish higher education. Professor Tahir Hatipoğlu was one of the many worried intellectuals who noted in 1988 that the private non-profit making universities could pose further threats to the secularism introduced by Atatürk, since these universities were to be largely run not by YÖK but by local people, and they might be keen to favour more and more religious education:

> The coming years will show that the non-profit-making foundation universities will bring dangerous results worse than the private higher education colleges in the 1960s. There is some evidence that shows the sign of the dangers....The first example is Bezm-i Alem university run by trustees who are known to belong to the Turkish-Islamic synthesis movement. The university will charge higher student fees than elsewhere, so ordinary students will not choose to go there... The religious foundations will prepare certain students for this university and pay their fees... Also certain religious people from certain tarikats will try to send their children to these universities. Because of the high fee there may be spaces left. For these spaces the university will take students on the strength of an oral examinations, as happens in Bilkent University.... On the other hand Bilkent is not financed by the religious foundations but by 13 firms established by İhsan Doğramacı.... The right wing, and orthodox and

unorthodox religious movements began to exert more influence on educational and financial affairs. Things are not going well. On the one hand the state universities are being deliberately undermined and reduced to a pathetic state and on the other hand the institutions based upon religious, racist, and sectarian fundamentalist orders are tolerated. Universities must be reorganized and there should be no place for the private universities within this new organization. Should they be allowed, these universities must bear the name of the owner of their *vakıf*, their governing bodies and their teaching staff should be chosen by the autonomous and free university.(61)

6.8. SPECIAL STATUS UNIVERSITIES

On 4 July 1991 the government prepared a decree which the President accepted just before the election in October. This gave some state universities special status under which they were run by a Board of Trustees . The staff strongly opposed this change but the government insisted that a total of five (Boğaziçi, İstanbul Technical University, Middle East Technical University, Ege and İnönü University) should adopt this new system. (Perhaps surprisingly, Hacettepe University - one of Doğramacı's own creations - was not included.) This development which reintroduced a two-tier system in Turkey's universities, was completed just before the general elections in November 1991. In accordance with the decree, four of the trustees were chosen by the head of the state, and the other four by YÖK and the Minister of Education and appointed by the head of the state again. The trustees were to meet at least 6 times a year, and their powers would include financial decisions, allocating resources, and distribution of staff. The trustees were to have full autonomy in administrative and financial decisions.

In fact, under the board of trustees system introduced at the Middle East Technical University, the academic staff were on contracts that gave them no right to representation. At first this system was successful there. The success was due not to the state-appointed board of trustees but the visiting professorship and exchange programme with US universities and access to private funds.

The new decree was criticised widely amongst the staff and the universities. 78% of the staff opposed the new status. Professor Kemal Kafalı, ex-rector of İstanbul Technical University was very critical of the government's attitude and its failure to consider the views of the staff:

> This decree does not make clear what these universities will be required to do and for whom. The universities are waiting worried that apart from a few MPs nobody knows the ins and outs of the new decree. (62)

Most senior figures criticised these new changes. Professor Atıf Ural's remarks were typical:

> The multi-faceted university issue must be taken up by the universities themselves, in an objective and scientific manner. Boards of trustees will only create chaos. (63)

In fact, although the politicians had been promising since 1987 that the universities would be given more democracy and allowed to elect their own rectors and deans, the changes were making universities

more dependent on the trustees chosen and appointed by the head of state.

6.9. WARNING TO ACADEMICS

Another interesting event which was in line with the "Turkish -Islamic Synthesis" was the National Security Council's warning to YÖK and the university rectors on 13 April 1993. (The National Security Council was established as a permanent body after 12 September 1980 and its position was specified in Article 118 of the 1982 Constitution. Its function is to protect the independence of the state. The Council consists of the Head of State, the Prime Minister, the Chief of General Staff, the Ministers of Defence, Internal Affairs, and Foreign Affairs, and the Chiefs of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Gendarmerie.)

This warning stated that the lack of communication between the YÖK and the universities was growing and the universities were breaching the confidentiality of secret official letters. As a result some of the official confidential letters were appearing on notice boards in the universities. The universities were also asked to give attention to national security matters and to enlighten the public on the subject by doing more research and publishing the results. They should also follow international publications about Turkey and if necessary they should protest against unfounded and damaging publications either directly or through the university senates. The provincial

universities should start to deal regional social, cultural and economic structures and problems.

The same report also listed a number of activities the universities should undertake and report on regularly. These included:

- Each academic year should start with impressive opening ceremonies in which politicians, bureaucrats and the public should attend.
- There should be complaints box in the each university for students and these complaints should be carefully dealt with.
- No books by authors considered ideologically unsound should be accepted for use as course books. (In practice this was applied against left wing rather than right wing writers. For example, Professor Mümtaz Soysal's *Anayasaya Giriş* (Introduction to the Constitution) was forbidden although he became Foreign Minister.)
- Steps should be taken to ensure that the academic staff do not lecture on topics not included in the curriculum. (This was aimed at social scientists who might be tempted to venture onto 'dangerous' political ground.
- University libraries should be inspected and 'harmful' publications should be removed and replaced by the publication that would promote nationalistic ideas. (64)

Even today university staff are still under considerable government pressure through ministers, MPs, officials and organs such as the National Security Council.

6.10. THE TÜRBAN DISCUSSION

The "headscarf" or "*türban*" conflict will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. However in this section it is appropriate to mention how academics reacted to this issue. The clash between certain students and academics over the right of female students to wear headscarves at university began in Turkish universities as early as 1981. University teachers who readily accepted the secular nature of the Turkish state were reluctant to admit female students wearing headscarves into their classes. The headscarf was banned several times in the universities, but the Özal government became anxious not to antagonise voters by insisting on the ban which President Evren favoured. Some staff in the universities obeyed the rules and did not allow these students into the lecture room. Some regarded the issue as an embarrassment both for themselves when they were obliged to enforce the ban and for the students who were supposed to be penalised. They did not consider it becoming to a democracy, though it was noted that even in France, another secular republic, the türban dispute caused many disturbances until the Muslims who had not been sending their daughters to school gained concessions allowing the girls to attend with covered heads.(65) Later, however, at the end of the 1994, the French government banned all religious dress on school premises as a threat to the laicism.

Many educated women feared that the issue would endanger the rights that women had gained in Turkey. Professor Nermin Abadan-Unat expressed their viewpoint as follows:

> "It may be correct to argue, as do several intellectuals and writers, that in a society which accepts democratic values and liberties, one is free to dress as he or she wishes. ... But when a form of dress, revealing or concealing, gets used to support a political motive, it becomes a political symbol." The aim of those seeking to promote the wearing of the *türban* is to change society and bring about a 'social apartheid policy'.(66)

The majority of Turks considered that the türban issue was absurd and that the students concerned were being used as tools by the fundamentalists who wanted to take country backwards. However some sociologists argued in favour of the wearers. Assistant Professor Nilüfer Göle from Boğaziçi University, for examaple, was one of them and she drew down a storm of protest on her head from other academics. According to her:

> the new fundamentalist radicals think of themselves as analytical 'intellectuals' who have acquired in-depth knowledge about Islam and want to study the past to come up with changes for today. For this reason, they choose to use the türban instead of a simple scarf to define themselves as different from the average, believing person.(67)

Those who opposed the wearing of the türban claimed it introduced the threat of fundamentalism. Professor Bahriye Üçok, who was later, on 6 October 1990, killed by the fundamentalists, explained that covering the head was not a Koranic law and the Koran has often been misinterpreted.(68)

The dimensions of the debate have been further widened with the development of vakıfs to fund new universities to promote Islamic values. As well as encouraging the wearing of the türban, they have a

potential to boost religious opposition to secularism in Turkey. This could again, as in the 1980s, result in bitter conflicts within the academic community on the issue of secularism.

6.11. THE DEBATE ON THE POSITION OF RECTORS

Under the Demirel government there were heated debates on YÖK. By 1992 the appointment of rectors and deans became the most contentious issue in the universities. The Minister of Education, Köksal Toptan, proposed that the universities should choose their own rectors and deans and head of state should formally appoint them. This proposal would have deprived YÖK of the power to appoint the rectors, and Doğramacı opposed it strongly. He said:

> The rector cannot inspect an institution whose staff have chosen him. [The staff's] 'We choose we inspect' attitude is unacceptable. The universities are financed by the state and this money is paid by the public, so they [i.e. their representatives] have every right to check these institutions. Today this duty is being performed by YÖK. I am against the new proposal. If the proposal is examined carefully, it will be seen that YÖK has no administrative duties. If they are going to give inspection duties to YÖK, it can easily be understood that YÖK's exclusion from the appointment of rectors cannot be right....I don't believe the minister will prepare a proposal that is against the country's interests. (69)

On 18 April 1992, the prime minister Demirel, had a meeting with university rectors. Most rectors agreed that they needed YÖK and the law number 2547, articles about rectors and deans appointments 13-16 were sufficient for the country's realities and needs. (70)

In May 1992 the daily newspaper, Cumhuriyet, published another interview with the Minister of Education about the universities. Toptan stated that the government's main aim was to have a university that is more contemporary, and has more academic and adjudicative freedom; in this system administrators would be chosen by the staff. He remarked that without changing the constitution YÖK could not be abolished though the universities also need the Council to provide coordination and planning. He added that responsibility for academic matters in universities should be transferred to the Inter-Universities Board but if that Board had sixty or seventy members it could not achieve its purpose; a much smaller body was probably required. He also stated that a considerable proportion of the rectors' duties should be transferred to the university senates and in the same way some of the deans' responsibilities should be given to the faculty committees. He said that selection of the rectors and deans by a single direct election could not be right. But the faculties may choose some of the members of the selection committee. He strongly favoured the idea that university administration committees should have two members chosen by the city council or provincial governor.

Despite Doğramacı's opposition, the Minister of Education was insistent that university staff should choose the rectors and deans.

In July 1992 the debate about the election of the rectors reached its peak. YÖK prepared another regulation on administrative change, anticipating that rectors would be elected by the committee that YÖK

chose. But Professor Türkan Akyol, minister of state in the coalition government, proposed that universities should have the right to choose. But again 'the universities had to choose three candidates for rectorship for five years and the head of the state had to choose one of these'. In the event these recommendations were ignored and the proposals made by Doğramacı - with a few changes made by the right wing of the coalition, such as an increase in the number of candidates from three to six - passed through the GNA. The universities had to choose six candidates by secret ballot and the candidates' names had to be sent to YÖK. YÖK's duty was to choose only three of these candidates "without regard for the number of votes cast for them". These three candidates' names were submitted to the head of state for him to choose and appoint one of them.

Under this system the votes of the university staff can be disregarded. The candidate with least support from the staff can still be appointed by the head of state. Despite the claims that this new system was more democratic, in practice the power previously held by YÖK to appoint rectors has been transferred to the head of state. Thus this change has deprived YÖK of the power it was granted in the Constitution to choose rectors directly. On 13 July 1992 Professor İhsan Doğramacı resigned his post, stating:

> The new changes will bring a great amount of disorder into the higher education institutions. At this stage I don't want to take any responsibilty.(71)

The Minister of State, Türkan Akyol, expressed his surprise:

> I am following with amazement the resignation of the head of YÖK who actually proposed this system for the rectors' selection and now states that there will be oligarchy [sic] within the universities, asserting that he resigned because of the rectors' election.

She went on to say that with the resignation of Doğramacı, the first step had been taken towards a fundamental democratization.(72)

Elections for rectors have since been held in twenty old universities and in another twenty new ones.

Apart from those who have retired, most of the old rectors have been reappointed.

Mehmet Sağlar, rector of 19 Mayıs University and professor of Law, has been appointed as new head of YÖK. He expressed his conviction that YÖK was necessary for the country and for the universities.

In August 1993, the government prepared a new law to change YÖK and make the universities more democratic and autonomous. The coalition government then decided that, because it would entail changing the Constitution, instead of actually changing the law, they would publish a governmental decree signed by the head of state. In accordance with this new proposal, the universities would choose two instead of six candidates for rector and the head of the state would appoint one of them. The same proposal states that the rectors would not be eligible for appointment in the same university more than once. However some

of the old rectors are chosen back again by the universities in 1994 and this seemed to cause more discussion about the appointment of the rectors.

6.12. RESEARCH

Turkish universities and governments have, over the years, neglected research activities. There are several reasons for this:

1. The governments, deeming it a luxury for Turkey, did not allocate enough money for research
2. There were no proper research funds from elsewhere to support research activities
3. The universities themselves had very limited budgets so they could not provide adequate library and other research facilities or operate research laboratories.
4. Financial difficulties obliged many academics to earn some extra money by teaching in the other higher education institutions, so they were too tired to concentrate on research.
5. Because of insufficient funding, academics and their assistants could not attend relevant conferences, meetings and symposiums.

Research activities were largely confined to a few state-funded institutions such as TÜBİTAK, Atom Enerjisi Merkezi, Nükleer Teknik Araştırma Enstitüsü, Maden Tetkik Arama Enstitüsü, Devlet Planlama

Teşkilatı, some other organizations, like TÜSİAD, and a few major universities such as ODTÜ, İTÜ, İstanbul, Ankara and Hacettepe.

6.12.1. RESEARCH AFTER YÖK

One of the important steps taken by YÖK was the establishment under YÖK Law Article 58b of the AFP (Araştırma Fonu Projeleri = Research Project Fund). The income for this fund could be obtained from the university's revolving fund. The YÖK Law also required candidates for promotion or appointment to professorships and doçentships to have published original papers in international journals. Another improvement was the opening of the Institute of Social Science that raised hopes among social scientists. The most important development of all was the creation of the YÖK Documentation Centre, which contained the journals and the books required by researchers in Turkey.

Acçording to YÖK's own source book:

1. In 1984 the number of research projects was 268. In 1989 this rose to 1288.
2. The money allocated for these projects in 1984 was 383,313,000 TL and in the first nine months of 1989 this had increased to 21,397,700,000 TL.
3. Research publications numbered 9005 in 1982 and went up to 17,288 in 1988.
4. 315 Turkish researchers published in international journals in 1979, and 1451 in 1987.

5. YÖK was subscribing to 13,555 international scientific journals in 1989 for the Documentation Centre, and the Centre could carry out a library search on any subject and send the relevant photocopies anywhere in Turkey, thus eliminating the need to travel to Ankara for the purpose.

6. Between 1987 and 1989 YÖK sent 794 research assistants to the West. These were in addition to those sent by the Ministry of Education. (73)

These improvements made by YÖK had a positive impact on research activity. Most universities in the provincial towns were short of money and resources before YÖK. The academic community welcomed the Law's provision for research activities and the introduction of the Documentation Centre that allowed easy access to academic journals. Nevertheless, some academics regarded these changes with deep suspicion. Figures produced by Professor Onat's research into Turkey's share in the world's researchers showed that in 1980 there were 0.75 per thousand. In 1981 this figure went up to 0.78 per thousand and in 1982 went down to 0.71 per thousand. (74) [This compares with 2.4 in Greece, 5.3 in Korea, 11 in Finland and 14.5 in Germany. (75)]

In a global context Turkey's research contribution is not impressive. In 1994, Turkish scholars world-wide published 1700 scientific articles. This ranks 38th on the world list.

A reporter for the daily *Cumhuriyet*, asked Professor Kemal Karhan, the deputy head of YÖK, why research had declined. His answer was interesting:

> They say that academic research has declined. How could it decline? ... There was none at all! YÖK has taken the first measures to encourage research by making publication a prerequisite for promotion. (76)

But YÖK's measures had negative as well as positive effects. The adverse effects can be summarized as follows:

1. Some AFP (Research Project Funds) were used for other purposes such as buying computers.

2. The staff were so overloaded with teaching that they had insufficient time for research activities though YÖK had made publication a prerequisite for upgrading. Consequently staff even cited newspaper articles for that purpose.

3. Individual university library facilities began to decline because of the accessibility of material in the Documentation Centre. Some academics regarded this as evidence of YÖK exercising control over the availability of journals.

4. The Institute of Social Sciences did nothing apart from registering the postgraduate students.

5. The requirement to publish internationally in languages other than Turkish created difficulties for staff in universities in which Turkish was the medium of instruction. Their efforts to publish in other languages were sometimes embarrassing.

6. The requirement introduced by YÖK for academics to move to another university on being promoted had the effect of ending the research group concept in the universities. Many long-established groups working in teams on specific areas of research were split up and, particularly in science subjects, communication between researchers was greatly reduced.

7. The quality of the publications fell as the staff were compelled to produce more and more.

Nevertheless, the measures did also have positive effects:

1. The Research Project Funds made universities and academics aware that financial support was available to promote research activities.

2. The need to publish articles gave academics an incentive to do something in addition to teaching.

3. Academics were motivated to learn other languages.

4. The Documentation Centre gave every university easy access to books, and articles, and thus did away with the need to visit METU library, which had been the richest in Turkey.

5. Most importantly, YÖK sent large numbers of research assistants, chosen by their own universities, to the West. Previously only students selected by the Ministry of Education had been sent.

6.13. INTERVIEWS WITH ACADEMICS

Between 1988 and 1993 personal interviews were conducted with 18 professors (seven of whom were working in provincial universities, the remaining eleven were then working in Ankara) and seven doçents (four of whom were working in provincial universities and rest in Ankara).

Anonymity was promised in order to encourage respondents to give accurate information. It was immediately apparent that this assurance was essential; respondents were at great pains to stress that even their university should not be identified because they feared punitive action if their participation in the survey was discovered. Very few junior members of staff were willing to risk involvement even on an anonymous basis, and some respondents pointed out that official clearance from the government should be obtained before such research was undertaken. The guarantee of anonymity appears to have had the desired effect of eliciting truthful replies.

The interviews took about an hour with each individual. Respondents spent much of the time criticising YÖK and the YÖK law and regulations, the limited budget for seminars and international conferences, lack of resources, unplanned new universities, the quality of education, students who only want to gain a formal qualification, having so many examinations to set and to read, and most of all the inequality between universities and staff. Some of these criticisms are noted in more detail later.

6.13.1. RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

It became apparent from informal conversations with junior academic staff who were not prepared to participate fully in the research that none of the junior staff were happy with their conditions of work. Some openly admitted they were doing the job simply because they could not find alternative employment.

The main complaints amongst the research assistants were:

1. low pay
2. lack of job security; the posts were only for a year
3. long working hours (like civil servants)
4. being used by the senior staff for such duties as:

    a. invigilating examinations
    b. reading and marking examination papers
    c. assisting in the laboratories
    d. taking revision discussion sessions for final year students.

5. Being expected to complete their Ph D studies and theses while still undertaking all their other duties.

They were all agreed that their jobs should be more secure and also that there should be another grade of post created between research assistant and junior lecturer. These new posts should be secure and

offer continuous employment to bright and willing postgraduates, allowing them to spend more time on actual research in their subject instead of just doing chores for the senior staff.

6.13.2. SENIOR STAFF INTERVIEWS:

The subject distribution of the 18 professors and seven doçents interviewed was as follows:

1. medical faculties..... 4
2. theoretical and applied sciences... 8
3. social sciences..... 6
4. education..... 4
5. law..... 3

Although respondents did not know each other and they worked in different subjects, all had the same views on the following points:

1. YÖK and its law were created without consultation with staff of the universities,
2. YÖK was dictatorial
3. YÖK is an organization of rules and regulations but even the members of YÖK are not aware of these rules.
4. rectors, deans and heads of departments had too much power (though four of the professors who responded were themselves departmental heads).

Six of the professors (24% of the total) raised the same question in the interview: how democratic is the YÖK and do the YÖK members understand the meaning of the democracy?

One criticism voiced by eleven respondents (44%) was that, although YÖK is supervising and inspecting universities, its own activities and personnel are free from any supervision and pressures.

A number of interviewees expressed contentious views about the universities and the education they provided. One doçent from a provincial university stated:

> ... The quality of education has become irrelevant because of the number of students admitted. The purpose of the universities has become that of delaying unemployment for a few years... Universities in Turkey have no intention of doing any research but carry on teaching as if the students are middle school pupils and the lecturers are teachers...

A professor from a provincial university stated:

> The number of universities has gone up but money and resources have not. So the budgets are very tight and we are struggling to do our best with these limited resources.

Another professor, who worked in a provincial university for two years and then went back to a well-established university in the capital, was very optimistic:

> The universities brought dynamism to the small cities. Even senior staff could stay there for a few years. The young people in those cities now have a chance to do further education.

Another professor pointed out that even small universities changed the social structure in their cities:

> The year we joined the university the city was a small typical Anatolian town that gave the neighbouring villages certain facilities such as a market, a few banks, the court, the jail and an administrative headquarters. There was not a single flower shop or a decent family restaurant. In the seven years since the university opened the town has become modern. There are now a few restaurants, numerous flower shops, and even sport facilities. The townsfolk are getting used to seeing young girls and boys walking together, whereas before that would have been regarded with suspicion. The university has a high number of students from local and neighbouring towns... As for the quality we are trying to do our best with the limited resources...

One professor from Ankara University voiced valid criticism of the appointments system and the university administrations:

> The appointments are made on grounds of administrative not academic ability. The relationship between the universities and the individuals in them are no longer based on academic concepts and values.

However the ones who were working or had been in the provincial universities did not regard academic promotions in the same light:

> The promotions are given not just for academic ability but for courage also. We had the courage to go and teach and establish basic research. The ones who did not bother to do so now criticise us because the ones who refused to move were not able to get promotion until 1986. Personally I am glad I did this social duty and naturally I was promoted. I would strongly recommend academics to go and work in provincial universities to perform real duty.

Another professor from a provincial university stated:

> It is easy to criticise the academics who move and get promotion. But I see it as my social duty to work and try to help to establish educational opportunity for the young generation. Promotion is only an incidental benefit; had I stayed where I was I could have waited like the others for a few years and got it easily.

Another academic's voice was very positive with regard to the provincial universities:

> I had worked twenty years in Ankara but I only worked two years in the small town and helped to establish a department there. The satisfaction I got under those difficult circumstances was great. Because most of us use our abilities to the full in the provinces but back in the large, old universities there are many of us and I don't think we work with to our full capacity here. I am back here in Ankara because of my financial commitment to my family. I would certainly try to go back to another provincial university if I had the chance again.

It was noteworthy that the staff from Ankara were complaining more than those from the provincial universities and they seemed convinced that the quality of the provincial universities was mostly of secondary school level. Believing that these universities were established on very weak foundations, they did not expect them to improve.

One interviewee from Ankara who had never been in provincial university said:

> The staff of provincial universities don't have any facilities so they cannot possibly compete with their academic peers. Because they were courageous enough to go there they have been promoted regardless of their capability. The students, especially in

science, cannot possibly attain the same standards as those in the leading universities because their lecturers lack the necessary resources.

Another academic from a science department who works in a provincial university bitterly complained about the general attitude towards the graduates from provincial universities:

> We try to do as much basic research as much as they do in the developed universities and our students are as enthusiastic as theirs. But when they are in the job market, sadly most of them are discriminated against because of the hostile attitude towards these universities. In fact for research assistantships in the developed universities they are discriminated against by the academics regardless to their ability.

A member of staff from a medical faculty lamented:

> Medical lectures are delivered by young inexperienced junior staff and those juniors are promoted before their counterparts. The students get a medical degree at the end but...

A doçent from a medical faculty commented on the criticism coming from established universities about employing junior staff:

> The criticisms are absurd. The ones who criticise the staffing in the provincial universities only think that universities should be

in the developed big cities and do not bother to move to small towns as they fear losing their position in the big established universities. After all they are not trying to find a cure for Aids. I would still be a research assistant in the university I came from, not because I had no academic ability because I had no chance to get promotion due to an excess of senior staff there.

A medical professor who has been working in a provincial university said:

> When we inherited this county hospital the conditions were far worse than in a little clinic. Now we have achieved a fully established teaching hospital. My peers in Ankara's best teaching hospital have better facilities and wealthy patients as well as students from better secondary schools, though when it comes to skill with the surgeon's scalpel that makes no difference. Our students are enthusiastic and willing to work in the provincial towns also.

Professors from traditional law schools added to criticisms of provincial universities:

> Law school students have no senior lecturers in the new universities. Their lecturers are local solicitors and lawyers or managers... These students will be in the same job market as the others. It is not fair on them or on society that already has lots of incapable graduates in it.

Criticism of Law Schools was rebutted by a doçent from a newly established Law faculty:

> We have local solicitors teaching applied law in our faculty. Some have been practising law for the last twenty years or so. The theoretical subjects are given by experienced academics. After all attendance in law schools was not compulsory until YÖK. Students, before YÖK, could just study the book that had the lecture notes and take the examinations without ever attending the lectures. I personally see student attendance at lectures, whether they are given by aged professor or experienced solicitors, as an improvement in law education and in the efforts to produce an equitable justice system for the country.

Some respondents complained bitterly about YÖK appointments:

> YÖK somehow did not bother to send out on rotation many of the staff from the developed universities such as ODTÜ, Boğaziçi and Hacettepe; they were there before YÖK and they are still there now. Although they and their family lives have not been disturbed they still complain about YÖK and talk about low quality. We tried hard to establish a new university from scratch and now they criticise YÖK and the promotions it has granted no doubt because they were not promoted themselves.

As the above quotations indicate, academics were divided into two groups: those who refuse to work in the provincial universities

bitterly deride academics working there and those who gained their promotion there, whereas the other group, who have been or are still working in the provincial universities, see themselves as performing a valuable social and patriotic duty. The first group express concern about the standards of research and the quality of education and limited resources in the provincial universities. However, the course programmes in all the universities were standardised after YÖK and now follow the same programmes in the same subjects. Academics from the developed universities maintained a strong elitist attitude and almost refused to accept that the provincial universities were universities at all. Academics from the social sciences and education were again divided into two groups: the ones who were worried about teaching education and social science in the provincial universities because of the danger of strengthening nationalist and islamist movements and the others, from the provincial universities, who opposed this attitude claiming that their education faculties were established long before YÖK and were the seed of the provincial universities anyway. One sociologist from a provincial university stated:

> To do research in Islamic subjects was seen as reactionary before 1981. Now we have started to do research in this area our democrat friends who believe in free research accuse us of anti-secularism.

It became clear that attitudes towards national feelings and religion were important subjects and this fact was emphasised by most of the academics.

Financial difficulties gave academics in the natural sciences more to complain about in the provincial universities. However, these academics expressed no concern about the quality of education in either the established or the new universities.

On the subject of research, one professor who worked in a provincial university said that he had obtained a grant and established a very interesting research project in the new university and had two post graduate students doing research whereas in his former established university he had no time to do research because of administration duties.

6.13.3. THE CRITICISM AND RECOMMENDATION FROM ACADEMICS

The following criticisms and recommendations were heard repeatedly:

1. The YÖK law should be amended to make YÖK an advisory and consultative body.

2. Rectors and deans should be chosen by the staff, and some of their power should be given to the university senate.

3. The financial standing of universities and university staff should be improved in order to restore the respect of society.

4. The senior staffs should have time to carry out at least basic research, and research facilities should be improved.

5. The links between universities and industry link should be strengthened.

6. Resources in the provincial universities should be greatly enhanced so that those universities can boost local development.

7. There is a need to improve contacts between universities.

8. The developed universities should stop despising the provincial universities and their students and try to cooperate with them.

9. Going abroad for conferences and seminars increased in the recent years, but to ensure that the universities benefit from these visits the staff who have been should write reports and give seminars in their institutions.

10. The practice in some universities making English the language of instruction should be carefully reconsidered; it facilitates a brain drain as graduates are more readily acceptable in the Arab world and elsewhere.

11. Voluntary rotation to provincial universities for a year could help to speed their development plans.

12. The policy on sending postgraduate students abroad should be reviewed. Instead of a few going for years a many more should be sent for one year programmes. That might reduce the brain drain to developed countries.

13. Staff appointments should be made by the universities themselves not by YÖK.

14. Compulsory measures such as rotation should be made voluntary.

15. The number of professorships is highly inflated and should be reduced.

6.14.1. QUESTIONNAIRE TO UNIVERSITY STAFF

In 1990 and 1991, questionnaires were distributed to senior members of academic staff at seven Turkish universities.(83) The 18 professors (seven of whom were working in provincial universities, the remaining eleven were then working in Ankara) and seven doçents (four of whom were working in provincial universities and rest in Ankara) were the respondent of the questionnaire. Nine of the professors and two

doçents had never been in another university. So 44% per cent had not changed university after YÖK came into existence. Four of whom, which two of them were professors, 16%, actually went to a provincial university and returned their own university two years later. Interestingly, the remaining 40% moved to a new university and stayed there.

All the respondents who are doçents and twelve of the professors gained their promotions after YÖK came into existence. So 76% per cent had been promoted and 24% per cent were already professors.

Anonymity was promised in order to encourage respondents to give accurate information

6.14.2. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONNAIRES

The interviews to complete the questionnaires were carried out with members of seven different universities coming from a total of eleven different faculties. In the summary of results shown below a distinction has been made between respondents from the four provincial universities and those from the three well-established universities in Ankara. Respondents in the provincial universities were drawn from a total of six different faculties and ten different departments. Those from the universities in Ankara came from five different faculties and also ten different departments.

1. Total numbers of teaching staff according to grades in your faculty/department:

	In 10 provincial depts				In 10 Ankara depts			
Year	Prof	Doç.	Y.Doç	Öğ. Gör.	Prof	Doç	Y.doç	Öğ.Gör
1980	3	8	-	22	33	55	-	56
1991	46	32	30	18	64	49	41	42
Dif	+43	+24	+30	-4	+31	-4	+41	-14

As these figures clearly show, there was a marked increase in overall staff numbers in the provincial universities, where professorial appointments rose by a dramatic 43, while there was a 31 increase in professors in the developed universities over this nine-year period.

2. The number of students also increased sharply over this period. In the provincial universities, whose numbers rose from around 1180 to 3200, the increase appears even more dramatic because at the beginning of the period four of the departments concerned were new and had not then begun to admit students. The staff-student ratio in the six departments that were in existence at the beginning and end of the period was 36:1 in 1980 and in 1991 the average ratio in all ten

departments was 25:1. In the ten departments in the developed universities there were 4,600 students in 1980 and 5,950 in 1991. Their staff-student ratio changed from 32:1 to 30:1.

3. In answer to the question, "How do you evaluate changes in the distribution of teaching staff among universities and faculties before and after YÖK?" 40% of respondents considered that the changes had been beneficial but 60% dismissed them as a cosmetic measure ("*yapay*").

4. As for the effect of "rotation" on provincial universities, 70 per cent thought that the rotation was not very well planned, that it was used as a means of intimidating university staff, and was unsuccessful. 20 per cent thought it was successful and considered that even short term rotation was of great value to these new universities.

10 per cent had mixed feelings; although they considered it had been unsuccessful they conceded that it had some benefits, particularly in helping to establish the provincial universities.

5. Asked, "How do you rate the teaching staff appointment model introduced by YÖK? What do you think are the differences between the former teaching appointments and the new ones?", 20 out of 25 (80%)

placed too much power in the hands of the rector and dean and was much less democratic than the previous system where appointments were made with the agreement of the university senate. 3 out of 25 (12%) thought it was much better. 2 out of 25 (8%) thought it had benefits at the professorial level.

8 out of 25 (32%) of the senior staff commented that the original YÖK law was better with regard to appointments and promotions and subsequent regulations had had an adverse effect.

6. Insofar as the changes in requirements for appointments and promotions were concerned, 15 out of 25 (60%) reported that they found they had to try to publish books and articles and polish up their foreign languages, but their increased teaching load made it more difficult to do research.

6 out of 25 (24%) (who were already professors and had gained their Ph.D.s in English speaking countries) thought that the new requirements for appointments were not really necessary for the universities. These people were more concerned with administrative than academic matters.

4 out of 25 (16%) said they were not bothered by the changes.

7. With regard to research opportunities, 25 out of 25 said they have had an opportunity to do research in their own universities, and participate in seminars, lectures, and conferences elsewhere in Turkey.

All were agreed that they could go abroad to do research if they could get grants from foreign sources. Their universities did not give money to staff wishing to attend conferences, seminars and lectures abroad but they did try to find resources for them from elsewhere.

As for the use they had made of these opportunities, 52% had used the research opportunities available in their own departments; 80% participated in seminars, lectures and conferences elsewhere in Turkey. Only one respondent had been abroad for research for a short time (three months). Three academics (12%) had participated in seminars, lectures and conferences abroad with grants from abroad.

8. Financial support for research within the university:

a, b. 20 out of 25 (80%) said they are able to get financial support.

c. 10 out of 25 (40%) were able to get financial support from private foundations, especially law and business.

d. 5 out of 25 (20%) thought they could get financial support from foreign sources such as NATO, UNESCO, UNIDO, British Council, Fulbright... (four of them had used such grants.)

9. The percentages allocated from departmental budgets for research activities ranged from 5% to 10%.

10. The response to the question on how many members of staff had been sent abroad for postgraduate training revealed that the figure was surprisingly low. YÖK, which at that time was responsible for sending departmental members abroad, had sent only six people (all of whom were research assistants) from all the departments the respondents were drawn from. Grants to those who were sent amounted to about £700. Four of these postgraduate students were from natural sciences and two from social sciences. However, during this period the Ministry of Education was also sending postgraduates abroad but the majority of these were not really attached to any university. (Later in 1992 onwards universities started to send their research assistant abroad. Most of the candidates sent abroad has been hand picked not necessarily in the academic ground. Also YÖK in 1994 had a programme of sending 2,000 young graduate abroad in the three years period.)

11. As for government influence,

a. 20 out of 25 (80%) said it had increased.
b. 3 out of 25 (12%) thought it had remained unchanged. They all thought that the governments had always wanted to influence universities.

c. only 2 out of the 25 questioned (8%) thought that government influence had decreased. They considered that since the introduction of YÖK universities did not have to bother with governments because YÖK was more or less a government agency.

Thus, all respondents thought that government interference in the universities was inevitable under the YÖK system.

12. In describing the influence of YÖK and politicians on universities

15 out of 25 (60%) called it pressure
5 out of 25 (20%) said it was intimidating
2 out of 25 (8%) said it was frightening
3 out of 25 (12%) said they were not worried by it.

13. In response to the question on who evaluated the respondent's work, 20 out 25 (80%) said that although officially the heads of the department carried out this task, in practice it was done by the rector who has the full authority. 5 out of 25 (20%) said their work was evaluated by YÖK.

14. The answers to this question indicated that not much attention had been paid to evaluations of teachers' work, but to provide statistical data the activity reports by members of staff were taken to the head

of the department concerned and then read out at the faculty board meeting and discussed in front of the other departments. The dean then presented the report to the rector and the rector presented a consolidated activity report to YÖK.

15. In reply to the question on the material and moral satisfaction of teaching staff, 10 out of 25 (40%) said they gained moral satisfaction; 10 out of 25 (40%) said they had neither moral nor material satisfaction because their workload was high and the money they earned was low. 22 out of 25 (88%) said that they did not derive material satisfaction; 3 out of 25 (12%) said that conditions could be improved.

All respondents believed that the law would soon be changed and they were optimistic about the future for academics.

16. All respondents considered that academic salaries were more or less on a par with those of other professions apart from employees of some of the best paid companies and holdings.

17. In giving their impression of the standing of their profession in the eyes of Turkish society, 15 out of 25 (60%) thought that society had lost its respect for academics because of their treatment by the

military regime and YÖK. They also felt they had been made the scape goats for the general chaos before September 1980. 8 out of 25 (32%) (all of whom were working in provincial universities) thought that they had a respected position in society. 2 out of 25 (8%) said that because of the financial difficulties faced by academics the value of their posts is under-estimated by the public and the best graduates no longer seek work in the universities.

18. Most were agreed that they could not compare their position in terms of resources with western counterparts but:

7 out of 25 (28%) thought that they have less academic support than their western colleagues.

5 out of 25 (20%) said they were less respected and appreciated.

13 out of 25 (52%) were agreed that they had fewer material resources than the western academics.

6.14.3. EVALUATION OF THE RESULTS:

The purpose of the interviews with senior staff in 1990 and 1991 was to gain a general picture of the staff and their positions, feelings and achievements after YÖK. The questions were answered genuinely although the numbers given for the staff and students were sometimes confused or inaccurate because the staff had changed university after YÖK.

The results show that:

1. the number of senior staff increased enormously in the provincial and the developed universities after YÖK. (The quality of the individuals concerned is another matter.)

2. the number of students also increased but in the developed universities the staff/student ratio decreased.

3. somewhat surprisingly 40% thought that the changes were positive, and even the 60% who said the changes were artificial welcomed the idea of the provincial universities although 44% had no connection at all with them. The result shows that almost half of the staff (44%) still think that the university or the university they work should be developed although they support the idea they don't want to have connection or contribution towards the idea of provincial university. The idea of elite academic position brought from West which most people agrees changed by YÖK still exist in the developed university.

4. most agreed that there should be short term voluntary rotation from developing universities to provincial universities.

5. there was a widespread desire for universities to be given back the power to appoint their own staff.

6. although the new system of staff appointments was heavily criticised, it had some benefits, such as making staff do some

research in their own subject, publish the results and try to brush up their foreign languages even though their teaching load had increased.

7. the research activities have gathered momentum since 1980, though finding resources to keep researchers in touch with their international counterparts remains a problem. Nevertheless, financial support for these activities has improved. The money allocated for the research however still seems to be very small amount compared with what is normal in western universities. The number of post graduate students sent abroad was very low; some departments did not send any at all.

8. all agreed that the influence and pressure from government had increased. There were only three professors who felt no fear of YÖK or politicians because they believed that the law would protect them. All the rest felt cowed by YÖK.

9. the power of decision-making in the universities lay with the rectors but all respondents agreed that this power should be given to the university senates.

10. there was general agreement that staff needed more material and moral satisfaction from their work and they were eager to regain the public esteem they felt they had lost.

The results were not as negative as might have been expected. The provincial universities have the potential to become successes if their resources are increased to match their needs.

It is still early to judge full effects of the YÖK law but the 40% of the respondents who now live in small Anatolian towns trying hard to change the condition of their university and town said that despite some complaints there is no doubt that the overall effects have been positive.

However, if the moral and material satisfaction derived from working in provincial universities are not improved in the long term, the staff who are working there may leave and join the others who do not want to go back to the provinces.

6.15. COMMENTS

The country and consequently the universities too are changing their attitudes towards Islam and fundamentalism. Traditionally the universities and their staffs were the preserve of certain sections of society. Staff members usually came from urban elite families. Before 27 May 1960 the staff had the power to control universities in defiance of governments. There was a political awareness amongst the youth and a palpable dynamism in the universities. These universities made the public aware of the value of human rights and democracy. But

after the 1950s migration from the countryside to the towns accelerated. Peasants flocked to the big cities in search of work. The effects of rapid urbanization began to be felt in every part of society. One of the chief attractions for the newcomers was the prospect of higher education for their children. Education ceased to be seen as a privilege and was regarded as a step towards a new life. As a result, the demand for university education increased rapidly. But instead of providing educational opportunities in accordance with manpower planning requirements, politicians sought votes by starting to build religious secondary schools and faculties. The cities themselves grew more religious and more nationalistic. From the 1970s onwards the cities began to exert more influence over the governments and among other things began to press for universities.

Since the 1980s, and especially after the collapse of socialism, the attitude of the West towards Turkey changed, particularly with regard to human rights issues. The Islamic movements in Turkey tried to exploit this new relationship between Turkey and the West, particularly after Turkey's application for admission to the EC was rebuffed, to urge that Turkey should turn it s back on the West and seek closer links with fellow Muslim states.

After the YÖK law came into effect, the religious movements gained increased access to the universities and their staff. This development began in the 1980s and is continuing today. Many people consider it to be a consequence of right wing government policies.

Academics are worried about the growth of militant Islam, especially amongst students.

Developments in the next few years will have a profound effect upon the universities and academics who work in them. Already vary many academics urge that YÖK should be abolished since it has now fulfilled its mission and academic freedom cannot be restored under its political administration.

However the YÖK system is still existence in 1995, though with slightly fewer powers and there is a tendency towards more freedom and administrative participation in the expanding universities.

At the same time, the universities can play a greater part in regional development in the provinces, though governments should resist the temptation to seek electoral advantage by promising to open new universities. They cannot boost their region without staff and basic requirements. Rather than opening new universities, the state should try to develop the existing ones.

Finally a university's duties are not limited to just teaching; they also have a responsibility to develop the country's human capital through the education they provide and the attitudes they instil into their students.

6.16. CONCLUSIONS

The understanding of democracy in Turkey is different from that in western countries. In Turkey the concept is more restricted. The freedoms commonly associated with democracy are limited compared with those enjoyed in more developed countries. Since the universities are inevitably a part of Turkish society, they are not immune from these restrictions. Indeed, in the eyes of some sections of the community, to give universities freedom of speech and thought would be to create another privileged group within Turkish society. Those who took this view considered it essential for the universities to exercise tight control. However, it can be argued that if universities are considered one of the main forces to develop the country and bring it up to contemporary levels in western technology, they need unfettered freedom of thought and speech.

One of the main aims of the YÖK law was to spread higher education throughout the country. But this laudable intention has been used to provide a means to punish universities and their staff. And even when the reward of staff promotion was offered, it was not given equally. Some staff had to change universities to be promoted but some became doçents and professors without changing from their posts. Some who moved to other universities were still deemed ineligible for upgrading. Some forfeited any chance of favourable treatment because of their opposition to YÖK and they even did not bother to apply for professorships.

To establish a stable democracy within the universities the staff claim the following rights:

1. to choose their own staff,
2. to prepare their own curriculum,
3. to decide the research programme
4. to be freed from outside pressures
5. to have YÖK transformed into an advisory council with no powers to intervene in the affairs of individual universities.

But at the same time they should realise that:

1. they are a part of a society that is trying hard to develop
2. they should be open to society and when necessary explain themselves to society
3. they should stand apart from political activity in the community and as institutions they should avoid political polarization.

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CHAPTER 7

STUDENTS

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the consumers of higher education in Turkey: the students. It notes the changing pattern of student demand, both for higher education in general and for particular subjects. It looks at how students have behaved within universities and also the extent to which they have taken part in political activities in the community at large, including their involvement in public unrest and the special role they have at times taken upon themselves. The profound impact upon students of the 1981 Higher Education Law is examined in some detail. This examination includes the use of questionnaires and interviews and the results of this research are discussed at the end of the chapter.

7.2. YOUTH

The UNESCO definition of a youth is "a person who is studying and not working for a living and not having a separate house for him/her self". This definition is inadequate since it does not include the young people who for any reason are not in education. In Turkey there are many such young people who, for financial or academic reasons,

cannot enter higher education. 54% of the Turkish population is under 25 and the unemployment between 15 and 24 is about 15%. As in the west, youth unemployment is a growing problem. Turkish society always set high hopes and give big importance to the young people. Atatürk himself emphasised the important role of Turkish youth, declaring: "You, the new generation on the rise! We founded the Republic, it is you who will glorify and perpetuate it." He impressed upon his young compatriots that it was their solemn duty to uphold the Republic. In what is known as his "Testament to Youth" he delivered this message to them at the end of his famous six-day speech in Ankara in October 1927:

> Oh Turkish Youth! Your first duty is to preserve and protect for ever Turkish independence and the Republic of Turkey. This is the sole foundation of its existence and its future. This foundation is your most precious treasure. Even in the future you will have malevolent internal and external foes who will want to deprive you of this treasure. If one day you are obliged to defend independence and the Republic, leap to do your duty without pausing to consider the resources and the conditions of the situation in which you find yourself. Those resources and conditions may present a very bleak prospect. Enemies with evil designs upon independence and the Republic may be representatives of a victory unparalleled in the whole world. By force and by guile all the fortresses of the beloved homeland may have been captured, all its arsenals penetrated, all its armies scattered and every corner of the country may actually have been occupied. And more grievous and grave than all those conditions, within the country government may be in the hands of people who are heedless, wrong-headed or even treacherous. Moreover, these persons in power may identify their personal interests with the political ambitions of the invaders. The nation may have fallen into destitution, ruin and exhaustion.
>
> Oh sons and daughters of the Turkish future! Then, even in those conditions, it is your duty to save Turkish independence and the Turkish Republic! The strength you need exists in the noble blood that flows in your veins.

These words are instilled as an article of faith into all Turkish school children and students. It was therefore not altogether surprising that many university students should, like many officers in the armed forces, feel obliged to take active measures to prevent the Republic from being endangered by elements they considered were betraying the nation.

Today young men and women are faced with unemployment problems worse than the older generation had experienced as the job market is now very selective and competitive, making young people seek a solution through further education after the age of 18. They find that a university degree gives them a better chance in this race. But gaining a university place is another big hurdle for them.

7.3. STUDENT DEMAND FOR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

The Turkish media and Turkish politicians traditionally held higher education in high regard and felt a great sympathy for students and their problems and aspirations. This attitude may in part have been due to the limited numbers at university and the major influence the few graduates had in the country - much greater than in developed countries. Moreover, university education was in practice mostly a privilege enjoyed by families of the elite from Ankara and İstanbul. University graduates, especially social science graduates, were able

to earn higher salaries than the others. Children in rural areas hardly had any access even to secondary education and their families took a more conservative attitude towards education. No real merchant or business class succeeded in establishing itself in Turkey in the first era of the republic. The people who dealt with trade were either from the ethnic minorities or large landowners who were dependant on agriculture, so their children were not interested in education; as long as they knew basic reading and mathematics they could continue in their fathers' jobs in the provinces. Furthermore, many religious people were unwilling to allow their children to follow the sort of education they described as gâvur or 'an infidel invention'.

However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the political, social and economic changes from 1950 onwards increased the demand for higher education, making it very competitive for young people. Most students aim to get a degree in order to achieve higher status in society and better paid jobs.

7.4. STUDENT ACTIVITIES

7.4.1. EARLY YEARS

The 1908 Law of Associations had stated, "Student organizations may not engage in politics".(1) However, a *Federation of National Turkish Students (Milli Türk Talebe Birliği)* had been secretly established

during the British occupation of Istanbul in 1919. This was closed down in 1933 and 80 students were arrested following some student demonstrations against a French company that had sacked a Turkish worker for speaking Turkish in working hours and against Bulgarians who had damaged a Turkish cemetery in Bulgaria.(2)

It re-opened on 28 October 1934, and the students were pardoned. It continued meeting and occasionally organising protests until October 1936 when it was again closed down for illegal involvement in a march on the Hatay issue. The ban was lifted in 1945 and immediately afterwards the Federation became active again. The students were organized under this one roof and were mostly patriotic, nationalist, republicans staunchly opposed to the anti-secularists and communists.(3)

On 18th June 1946 the new University Law Number 4936 came into effect, giving universities autonomy and at the same time making the Minister of Education 'head of the University' (Article 14).(4)

At this time, against a background of economic difficulties in Turkey as a result of the second world war, students were starting to take an active interest in politics with the introduction of the multi-party system. Youthful adherents of the rival parties campaigned enthusiastically but their patriotic feelings took precedence over their party allegiance. The common enemy was seen as communism and students held meetings and talks to condemn it and also the USSR that had made territorial claims against Turkey. The Democrat Party

followed the example of the Republican People's Party by establishing a youth organisation and then tried to use its student members as a tool against the RPP regime, adopting an even more vehement anti-communist stance.

Students came to realize that the multi-party system gave them new opportunities to exert their influence. A striking example of how they chose to exercise this new-found power occurred on 27 December 1947 when Ankara University students staged a mass rally against communism. They marched to the University chanting "Down with communism!", forced their way into the Rector's office and made him write out his resignation, sign it and stick a stamp on the envelope. As he was endeavouring to depart they spat in his face and pummelled his taxi. A matter of days later, on 11 January 1948 Ankara University Senate announced its unanimous decision to dismiss three promising young academics whose left-wing views had made them the target of abuse. (5)

After the Democrat Party came to power in 1950 the youth activities of the parties intensified and student involvement increased. As the decade progressed and the government, stung by criticism from university quarters, introduced curbs on university freedom, students began demonstrating against the government. Naturally, members of the RPP youth organisation were prominent in these activities.

Demand for university places grew during the Democrat period as a consequence of increased numbers of graduates from the various types

of lise and from the village institutes which were opened in the 1940s.(6) The total number of graduates from lise and vocational schools was 8,079 in 1940-41 and 18,055 in 1950-51. This number went up to 21,942 in 1955-56. The total number of students in higher education in 1955-56 was 36,998. This was insufficient to meet the increased demand, despite the creation of several new universities.

The class structure of the student body contributed to their growing unrest. Most university students were children of civil servants, teachers, and officers in the armed forces, living in the big cities and imbued with Kemalist and patriotic ideals. High inflation and the government's policy of encouraging the new class of rich peasants, industrialists and workers in manufacturing industries greatly disadvantaged the civil servants, teachers and officers.

This left their offspring in the universities in straitened circumstances and consequently disgruntled by the political developments and predisposed to change the situation with the help of RPP. They were also able to rationalise this as a demand to restore the national economy which they claimed was being damaged by DP policies.

Conditions in the universities proved fertile ground for discontent. The faculties had become overcrowded, especially in the social sciences most of whose students had aspired to comfortable and secure jobs as state employees.

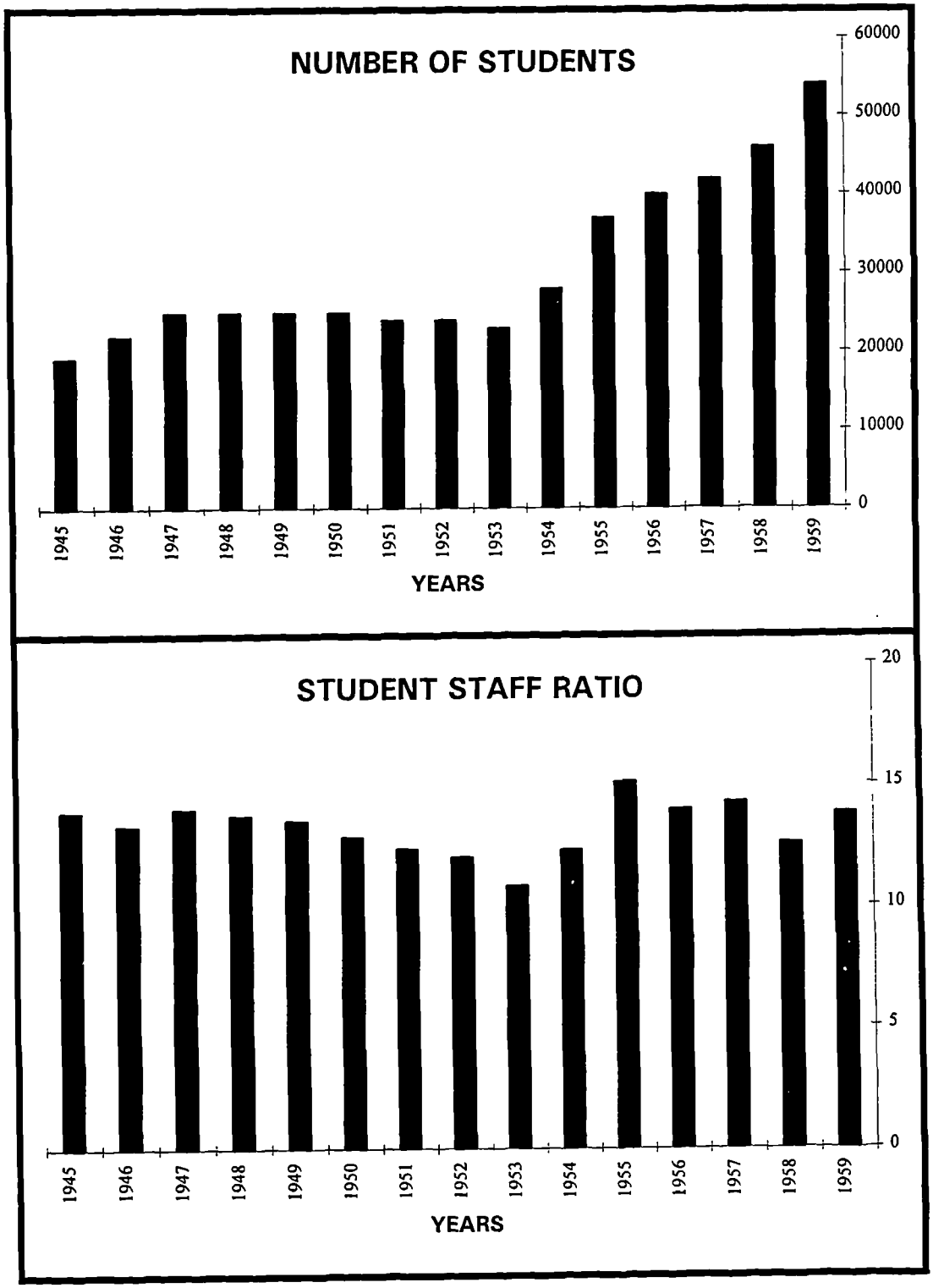

FIGURE 9. STUDENT NUMBERS AND STUDENT/STAFF RATIOS 1945-1960 .

As a result of the excessive number of students there was practically no contact between staff and students; lecturers delivered their lectures and promptly departed. No seminars were arranged; the students simply took notes at the lectures and learned from the textbooks. But the system gave students endless rights to take the examinations, and as student status gave them some valuable privileges such as postponing their military service and enjoying half price travel, cinema and theatre visits, many students were reluctant to leave, thus adding to the total numbers and increasing the pressure on the facilities. Nevertheless, since they had no grants from the state, the students remained dependent on their families. As incomes for their families decreased, these students were in increasing difficulties and eager to bring about changes in the government. At the same time they were still held in considerable respect by the masses because they were seen as the future of the country. The government was aware of the danger the universities represented and blamed the lecturers for fomenting discontent.

7.4.2. SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES

The deterioration of the economic and political conditions, with high inflation, corruption, and attempts to suppress opposition provoked growing unrest. Demonstrators in Ankara and İstanbul clamoured for freedom and for the resignation of Menderes. There were bloody clashes at both Ankara and Istanbul universities between students and

the security forces on 28-29 April 1960. The universities were closed after Rector of İstanbul University had been beaten by the police.

On 27 May 1960 a group of officers of the armed forces seized power and arrested members of the Democrat Party government. The officers set up a National Unity Committee to run the country and they appointed a group of law professors to draft a new Constitution and Election Law. The dismissal of 147 academics by NUC gathered lots of storm from the students. Students were prominent in the loud protests against these dismissals, which were eventually rescinded on eighteen months later. (7)

The new constitution, which gave the universities their autonomy under Article 120, was accepted by 61% of voters in a referendum held on 9 July 1961.

The Turkish universities, with their newly regained autonomy, were not immune from the struggles between students and state security forces that became a common feature of university life throughout much of the world in the 1960s. Industrial expansion created a demand for a more educated workforce and this led to further overcrowding in the universities of many countries, with a consequent questioning and reappraisal of the purpose of the university. (8)

Several scholars, such as Karpat, Kaya, Kongar, Landau, Mardin, Öncü, Stirling, Szyliowicz and Williamson have commented on the Turkish case and the reason for the political and ideological student uprising in

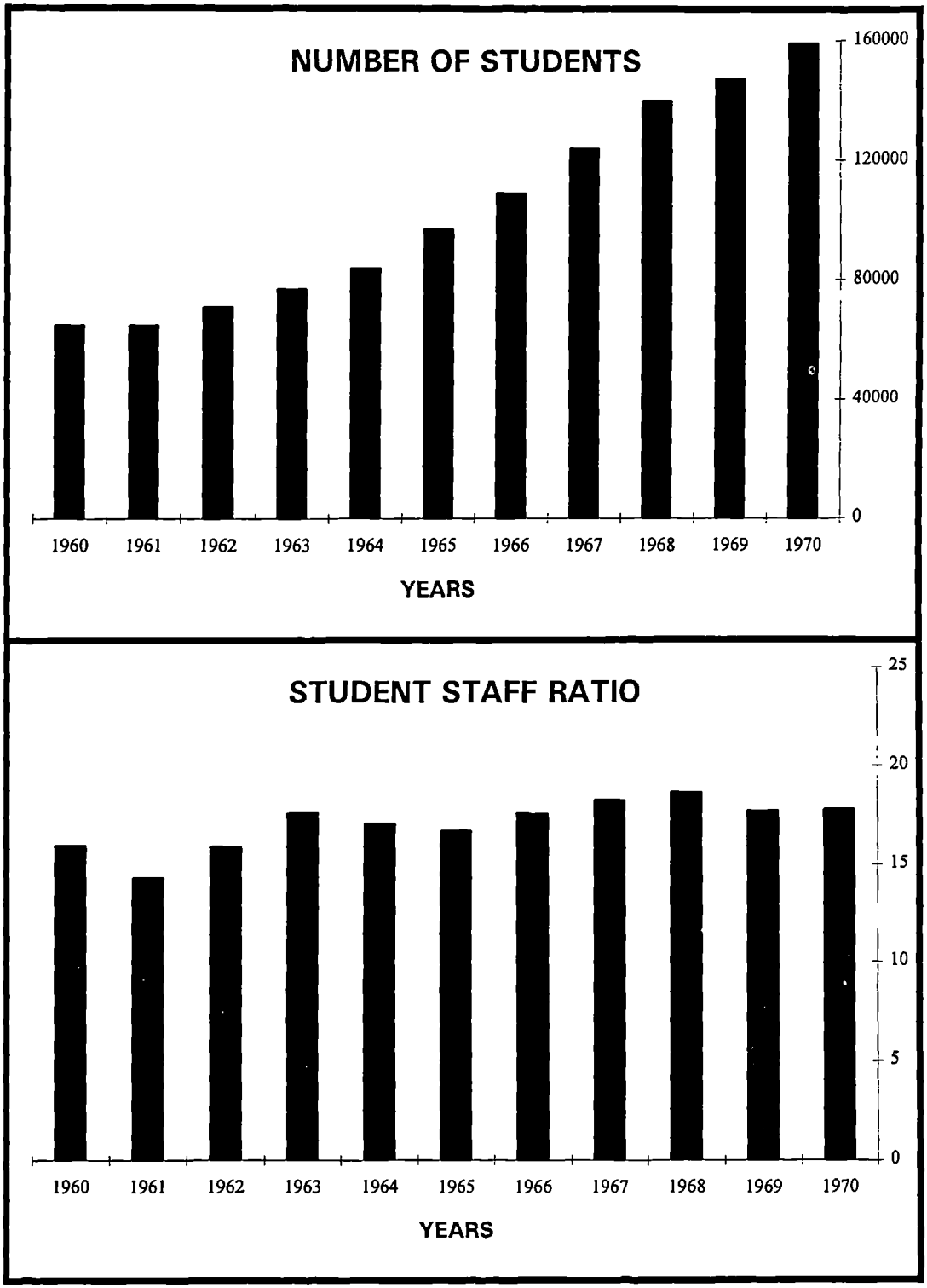

FIGURE 10. STUDENT NUMBERS AND STUDENT/STAFF RATIOS 1960-1970

Turkey in the 1960s as the political developments in these two decays discussed in Chapter 3, the university students as an elite part of the society, started to support as well as nationalistic ideas the left wing ideas with more freedom and more democratic rights from the 1960 Constitution.

The demand for university places grew still further in response to an increase in the number of lise and vocational lise graduates. In 1960-61 the number of graduates from these secondary schools was 35,484; by 1965-66 this had risen to 56,835 and by 1969-70 it reached 89,615. The number of students in higher education tripled, rising from 52,290 in 1960-61 to 97,000 in 1965-66 and 147,000 in 1969-70, although only one more university was established in the same period (Hacettepe was established in 1967) bringing the total to eight.

This increase brought about a change in the social background of students in Turkish universities. Whereas previously those from an elite background had predominated, now those from lower down the social order entered in large numbers. Using social classification models applied to societies in western Europe may give a misleading impression since Turkey has a different background; the peasants who moved to the cities were not completely transformed into "workers". Their elders still lived in the villages and in the summer holidays young families who lived and worked in the cities went home to the countryside and worked on their land.

To help meet this increased demand for university places the conservative JP government passed the Private Higher Education Law in 1965 and the new private colleges started to appear in the big cities. As noted in Chapter 4, the students in these colleges usually worked during the day and studied at nights. Some of them were the children of wealthy farmers or merchants in the small towns who wanted their children to be different from the other local young people and have better opportunities than them. Many such students were not able to pass the examinations for entry to the state universities.

The JP won the 1965 election with a big majority under the leadership of Demirel. Like the DP government before, the JP tolerated religious movements but sought every opportunity to control the universities and restrict their autonomy.

As can be seen, both the DP and its successor the JP were not well disposed to academics because in the country as a whole the academics could command only a few votes. As for the academics themselves, as discussed in Chapter 6, at the same time they were enjoying the freedom they had in the universities, the extra lectures in the private colleges and the right to join political parties that they gained in 1961. The students, who were mainly left wing, were very much against what was happening around them and protested against the economic policies, feeling sympathetic to the union activities and imagining they could change the regime. This was hardly surprising, since, as Williamson comments, "Higher education institutions in any modern society are necessarily sensitive to the political and economic

changes going around them for they are nearly always in the forefront of those changes. (9)

Despite this turmoil, Demirel and his government adopted a very relaxed attitude towards student activities. Unimpressed by student demonstrations, he declared in a phrase that stuck in the public mind, "Roads are not worn out by walkers!"

Although the government faced great economic difficulties, it was supported by the majority of the rural population. Conveniently for the government, demonstrating academics and students distracted the media's attention from the economic and social changes the government and its supporters were bringing about.

Student activities chiefly comprised marching in the streets and chanting slogans such as "Down with Imperialism! Down with Fascism and Capitalism!" Increasingly they condemned American policies.

From 1968 onwards, as student activities intensified in Europe, Turkish students turned to violence. Leftist students of various factions robbed banks to get funds to buy guns for the revolution. Right wingers, commandos from Türkeş's National Action Party, joined the battle and bank robberies as well as gun battles between the left and right became daily occurrences in the cities. The students moved from demanding basic rights to demanding change in society. At first, many members of the public regarded the students as heroes and the guardians of Kemalism. However, as the incidents spread from cities

to the rural areas with killing, kidnapping becoming ever more frequent occurrences, the press and government kept claiming that the universities were arms depots, the public started to lose sympathy and turn against the students. On 12 March 1971 the military "coup by communique" ended the violence and the hopes which students were almost believing to happen. As a consequence of amendments to the Constitution accepted on 20 September 1971, universities lost some of their former freedom and dignity. The police and army were thereafter allowed to enter the universities without permission in search of weapons; if university freedoms were held to be endangered, the state could intervene and take over faculties and administration. Subsequently, from 2 December 1972, "all student organizations were dissolved and henceforth there could be no more than one student society in any educational establishment". (10)

Between 1971 and 1973, the period of strict military supervision over three successive governments, many intellects and students were arrested. The army, in contrast with 1961, was against the left wing. One incident recounted by Geoffrey Lewis illustrates the state of university life then. It was known as *the Homongolos case*:

> ..the rector of Atatürk university at Erzurum, denounced ten of his students to the public prosecutor and demanded that they would be put on trial for publishing communist propaganda and indecent material in a rag week magazine they had produced under the title of *homongolos*, a Turkicized form of homunculus. He pointed out that if the word was spelled backwards it became *sol*, 'left'. (11)

The amendments in the constitution and the new university law did not stop the anarchy but resulted with a distinct change in the nature of it in 1970s. The left wing student activists of the previous decade had graduated and moved into jobs where they sought to influence

workers and officials. Furthermore, the left had been discouraged by the execution of several of their leaders in 1972 and 1973. Right wingers now brought terror to the universities. They spread anarchy throughout the country. The left and right struggled for dominance in the schools, universities, and work places, calling the places where they had been successful, 'liberated areas'. The government did almost nothing to stop them as they were again fighting against high inflation, budget deficits and lack of foreign aid.

Different faculties came under the control of different factions, and any student who was not their supporter was not allowed in. Factions started to fight each other and killing became commonplace. As happened before 1968, the ordinary people started to blame the students again. Although most lectures were given under police or military supervision, violent attacks often occurred in front of them and sometimes they took no notice as they were politicized also. The boycotts to demand basic rights turned into political riots involving guns. At the same time, most work places had constant strikes, especially council workers as the councils had no money to pay workers' salaries. The liberal government was biased towards nationalists. Kaya summarizes some expressions of government views:

> The government's Justice Minister depicted the student clash with the authorities as 'a battle between patriots and traitors'.... The other State Minister showed his sympathy saying, in answer to accusations that the right wingers, like the left wingers, were using Russian made weapons, 'the nationalists use Turkish guns!' The Minister of education in 1978 stated: 'this struggle is between republicans and the enemy of the republican. (12)

Countless student societies were formed at this time, some of them open, some clandestine, and some operating outside Turkey. Many students and other young people who had been unable to enter the universities were joining the student societies even though they did not know the purpose of the society.

The number of students in the universities and higher education institutions went up from 159,000 in 1970-71 to 262,000 in 1974-75 and 333,000 in 1978-79 and 270,000 in 1979-80.

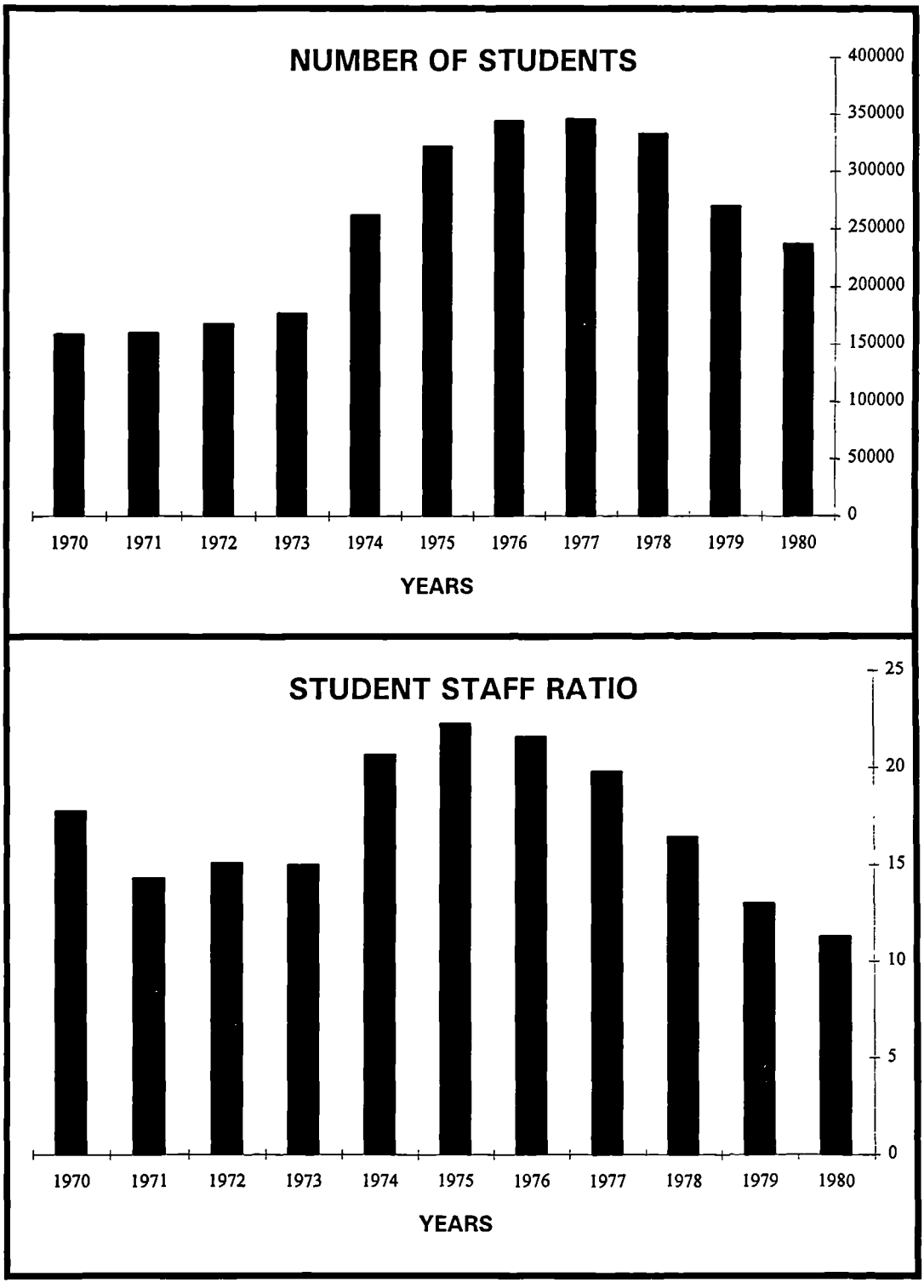

FIGURE 11. STUDENT NUMBERS AND STUDENT/STAFF RATIOS 1970-1980 .

The numbers of lise and vocational school graduates during the same years were: 89,615 in 1970-71, 238,054 in 1978-79, and 252,800 in 1979-80, while enrolment to higher education was 12,890 in 1970-71, 64,498 in 1974-75 and went down to 41,574 despite the increase in the number of universities from nine to 19.

Job prospects for young people completing secondary education were bleak, particularly in the late 1970s when the government imposed a freeze on recruitment into the civil service because it was overstaffed. This situation increased still further the demand for university places. (In 1975 115,000 candidates applied; by 1980 190,000 were taking the entrance examination.) Consequently, each year the number of applicants left with no hope grew.

The student incidents spread such alarm throughout the country that people were afraid to go out after dark; their choice of daily newspaper could expose them to accusations and even killing. The basics of everyday life, like petrol, cigarette, and margarine were scarce.

In the autumn of 1979, rioting in the higher education institutes, especially the ones attached to the Ministry of Education, became so fierce that most of them were closed after a short period because it seemed impossible to continue under these circumstances. At this time, the whole country was divided into several different factions. The cliques took their activities out onto the streets of the towns and into the secondary schools. Rival workers', teachers' and civil

servants' unions sprang up catering for many shades of opinion from the extreme right to the extreme left and clashes between them created a vicious battleground where campaigns were fought with real guns.

Certain other groups that grew in importance in the 1990s were terrorists. Dodd describes one as '*Kurdish nationalist and leftist at the same time ... whose threat was a very poignant one for the integrity of the Turkish state*'.(13) The others were extremist Islamic groups which organised among students and workers who came from small towns, providing them with hostels, food, and religious instruction. The right wing religious groups' main idea was to reintroduce the *şeriat* and make Turkey like the other Islam countries. They were not just against the left wing but also opposed to westernization. The anarchy got even worse and every day the number of people killed reached double figures, the victims including union leaders and MPs from both left and right wings. On 6 September 1980, the National Salvation Party held a meeting in Konya against the republic and demanding the seriat. This meeting alarmed the leaders of the armed forces, and on 12 September 1980, while the universities were on their summer holidays, the army took over.

Anarchy was suddenly stopped, thousands of students, journalists, and other workers were arrested along with the leaders of the political parties. The student unions as well as all other unions were banned.

The 1980 new education year started with a message from the new head of state, General Evren, saying that the authorities would not tolerate any politics in or around the classrooms.(14) Education continued quietly as universities took the blame for recent violence and anarchy.

7.4.3. REASONS FOR STUDENT RIOTS

The student activities changed their character in Turkey over the years and became a powerful influence upon public opinion and government policy.

In the early 1950s student activities were modest and naive, limited to straight forward protests. There were no anarchical tendencies and the views expressed were mostly Kemalist thoughts. As Mardin states:

> In the early days of the Republic and, indeed, up to the 1950's the majority of educated Turks were willy nilly followers of Kemalism; for them the enemy was religious 'obscurantism'.(15)

In the late 1950s, as previously noted on page 330, student actions were less restrained and almost became violent, with left and right wing ideas being promoted. The government's apparent retreat from the Kemalist ideas of etatism and secularism provoked riots among academics and students against to the regime. The social change in

Turkey as a result of economic and political change made student unrest inevitable.

After the revolution of 27 May 1960, the universities enjoyed the freedom granted to them by the constitution. The introduction of martial law and an austerity programme gave a few years' relief to the economy (and this model was repeated with each succeeding period of martial law in the future). But as the governments' dependence on the outside free market continued, foreign borrowing and deficit financing increased, with the result that the Turkish lira fell in value and inflation rose. In response to this, student actions started again. Now, the economic crisis led to these actions becoming mostly anti-American, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist. Later, some leftist groups believed that they could only bring about a revolution and change the system by arming and resorting to urban guerrilla tactics. In reaction to this, the right and religious right was born among students who were mostly from provincial towns and eager to protect their national and religious identity in the face of the threat they saw from the communists. The left wing groups became so violent that the army could no longer ignore them. Once more, under the difficult political and economic conditions, they took over. This time they felt that the new changes would not find favour in the universities or among the students. The army therefore made sure that the autonomy of universities would be limited and if necessary police and army personnel would enter the universities.

As left wing was blamed and punished by the state, this time the balance of power was now on the right. They started to disrupt the higher education institutes, punishing in their own ways the students who did not support them or sympathize with them. Later the left wing activists started to retaliate and the students who only wanted to have an education either joined one of these groups or stayed at home. On the subject of student violence, Kongar stated:

> The groups who wanted to get into power by creating general disorder in the country regarded the universities as the best cannon fodder. There were two reasons for that ... the first. the political groups - left or right - wanted to get into power and control the whole of the education and training system... secondly, one terrorist group considered that killing university teachers would be a means of spreading general disorder that would be a factor facilitating a political coup d'état... Before 1980 the terrorism of the right was relying on a coup d'état and the terrorism of the left was relying on a 'rebellion'... In this situation while the right wingers were murdering lecturers, in particular the moderate ones, and trying to spread the disturbance all over the country, the left wingers were exploiting their potential for awakening the masses and rebelling against injustice. (16)

Finally, on 12 September 1980 the armed forces took over again. The reasons for this ten-year period of student unrest may be summarized as follows:

1. The increase in student numbers in the universities reduced the quality of education. Standards were very low, especially in the new universities, and were based upon rote learning.

2. The new central exams called Student Selection and Placement Examination (Öğrenci Seçme Yerleştirme Sınavı) gave students 18 choices in 1974. At the end of the examinations students could be allocated a place in what might have been their last choice university. This system left many students greatly frustrated because they could not shape their own futures. Furthermore, the university programmes offered did not allow students to demonstrate their abilities, and the students who failed were blamed for this.

3. Entry into higher education became more and more of a struggle, and families who could afford to send their children to private secondary schools did so to invest in their children's future careers. In 1973-74 the success rate for students from private lises was 90% compared with under 70% for those from state lises.(17) This demonstrated considerable inequality in education.

4. The social background of the students was also very unequal. The state Planing Organization's calculation in 1973-74 showed that if the possibility (luck) of a child from a village being able to enter the examination was rated as 1, for a worker it was 2.8, for artisans 4.7, for professionals 6.9, civil servants 8.4, merchants 9.9 and industrialists 34.3.(18)

5. Cultural differences played a major role in the 1970s as youths from the villages and small towns and the children of workers had access to higher education. The young people from the elite families (civil servant, officer, bureaucrat, industrialist) and the young

people who had been brought up in villages and gecekondus had conflicting views about their future. The privileged were confident they could get jobs but the rest were pushed into teacher training colleges, academies, and the other institutions. Moreover, those from privileged backgrounds chose the political science faculty, law, medicine and social sciences. This situation created resentment among the less privileged students. Not surprisingly, the right wing found more support in the teacher training colleges and academies, although the products of the earlier village institutes had mostly been ardent Kemalists with left-wing sympathies.

6. The students lived en masse subject to minimum social control, their separation from the mainstream of society tending to make them more reckless and visionary.(19)

7. The left and right wing groups prevented their opponents from entering the examination rooms so the group that could not get in started to use violence.

8. Boycotts were usually protests against the unfairness of the examinations, as the system differed from one institution to another.

9. Students would boycott the lectures of those academics who held contrary political views to themselves.

10. The academics seldom resisted the boycotts of lectures because their own lives were under threat.

11. Academics had no personal contact with the students as the lecture rooms were crowded. They gave their lectures if there was no boycott and then went off to teach elsewhere.

12. The government policy of taking the side of the rightist nationalist group stirred up the other group.

13. The students who lived in the student hostels were forced to join one of the pressure groups on pain of a beating and torture if they refused. So some joined these groups not from free will but force.

14. Students in Turkey have always been interested in politics and accustomed to discussing what is happening in the world and in Turkey every day. Therefore they thought that they were representative of the public and they were fighting for their rights. In fact, the left wing groups always believed in Turkey that they were the force to bring in socialism, as the working class had not been formed.

15. The students in Turkey had no social and sports facilities. They spent their free time either in cafés discussing politics or in cinemas.

16. The press reported student activities in a very provocative manner, overstating small incidents, showing grim colour pictures of killings and naming the groups involved. They took sides with political parties and turned their readers against students.

17. Lastly, but most importantly, through their mistaken economic policies and ideologies the political parties prompted university students to riot.

7.4.4. REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDENT ACTIVITIES

The cause of student unrest was the upheaval that society underwent after 1961. The 1961 constitution was democratic and gave the masses more social and political rights but the economy of the country under the newly adopted free market system did not improve and Turkey was heavily dependent on foreign loans and aid. As unemployment and urban migration increased the demand for university education rose dramatically. But faced with this demand and with the general state anarchy prevailing in the country, the universities made no constructive response.

The students who sought to change the economic conditions with anarchy jeopardized the public's civil rights, their right to live, and the other students' right to carry on with their education and the academics' right to teach. The anarchy they introduced led to death, injuries and brought about martial law and three years of restrictions.

7.5. LIMITATION OF STUDENT RIGHTS

On 4th November 1981 the YÖK Law came into power. The articles directly relating to the students were 4, 5, 43-50, 54, 59, 63 and also the temporary articles 5 and 13.(20)

These articles, as noted in Chapter 5, are clear and brief and have only one message: 'you are lucky to get a place and you have to be good, work hard, do nothing apart from studying otherwise you will not only be expelled from the institution you are in but will lose all other rights to higher education'.

The articles discussed in Chapter 5 affected the position of students in higher education:

1. Higher education was free in Turkey until 1981. New Articles 43 and 46 abolished this right. (Loans to cover the new university tuition fees were made available to needy students.) This change made it even more difficult for students from middle income families - those that were neither rich nor classed as needy - to afford to go to university, especially to universities in different cities. As many self-employed people such as farmers and businessmen were able to conceal the real extent of their income, the people who were most adversely affected by this change were salaried people such as civil servants and workers. The new law destroyed equality of opportunity for university education.

2. Article 44 restricts the length of time students could spend in the universities. It limited the right to resit examinations. Under Temporary Article 13, Some 50,000 students who had exhausted their resit entitlement were expelled from the universities in the two years 1981-1983.(21) This provoked student protests, marches, and demands for another right to resit. Subsequently they were allowed a further chance each year.

Section c of Article 44 concerns the consequences of failure to attend the requisite number of lectures. This placed in a difficult position some 100,000 students who were studying for degrees while also working in the public sector.(22) They were obliged to make the difficult choice between their studies and their work.

3. Article 45 (1) had retroactive effect and did not protect the rights gained in the past. Consequently, some 100,000 young people who had already attempted the entrance examination three times lost their rights to further attempts.(23)

In fact, the University Entrance Examinations had first started to operate in two stages in April 1981 first because of increasing demand for higher education. The number of candidates was 470,000 in 1981 but this number fell to 408,000 in 1982 because of the restriction in Article 45.(24)

4. In order to provide horizontal transition from one institution to another, education in the same subjects was unified under Article

43-b. This section makes education very monotonous and dry, and lecturers often felt unable to give their personal interpretations. This process of standardisation also meant that the central authority was able to exercise control over the universities more easily.

7.6. IMPLEMENTATION OF RELEVANT ARTICLES OF THE LAW OVER TEN YEARS

In this section the students' situation is discussed with the benefit of interviews conducted at different periods in their university life. This information is supplemented by newspapers articles. It is noteworthy that there were virtually no academic publications on students and the changes they faced; academics were more concerned with their own situation and the state of universities as a whole. The aspects considered below are work loads and examinations, student activities, social life, and prospects.

7.6.1. WORK LOADS AND EXAMINATIONS

The YÖK Law introduced a number of compulsory new lectures in Turkish Language, History of the Turkish Revolution, a foreign language plus a physical education (or fine arts) to the curriculum of every degree course.(25) The new regulations also clearly specified the number of tests students had to take each term: two in each module they were taking. Thus, for a subject that had ten course elements, 40 tests would be taken (2 in each of ten modules each of the two terms into

which the Turkish academic year is divided). The average passmark was 40%. Students who did not attain that mark were not allowed to sit the final examination and were obliged to leave the university if they were not successful within the specified time limit.

This new system imposed such a heavy burden of tests that students had very little time left for learning. They lived in fear of failure and expulsion and were obliged to devote almost all their time to working for the tests and examinations.

The examinations themselves did not provide a valuable educative experience. They maintained the old multiple choice system in most universities including medical schools. As one of the medical school student said when pointing out the deficiencies of this type of test, "I might be able to diagnose an illness easily if the patients could suggest five possible illnesses to me". The time and effort required to mark the large number of papers even for these unsatisfactory tests left lecturers with insufficient time to prepare their lessons. For example, a lecturer teaching two different subjects to the first year with a minimum of forty students, has to evaluate 40 x 2 = 80 papers for each module each term, making a total of 160 test-papers to mark. For the year as a whole, such a class would generate 320 test papers plus 80 Final examination papers to mark. Clearly, they would have no time to evaluate the sort of answers, such as essays, that would require more thought and time.

Students working under this new system spend most of their time preparing themselves for the examinations by trying to memorise the photocopied class notes taken down from the lecturers' words by a few fellow students. So students do not even have time to bother to consult a book - which from one point of view may be just as well since library resources are meagre. In 1988 a group of third year students from the different faculties in Ankara said that they had never been given essays to write or research work to do and would not know how to anyway. One student, again from Ankara, complained that their lecturers are so uninterested in them that they did not even make any effort to know the names of their students even in comparatively small classes. One group of students in İzmir complained bitterly that their examination papers were assessed so mechanically that unless they used the exact wording of the model answer it was marked wrong and they had to argue their case if they had used a synonym, yet these same lecturers accused their students of thinking only about their examination results.

According research into examinations carried out in 1986 by the daily newspaper *Milliyet*, each student takes 100 examinations each academic year and every two and a half day there is an examination in each faculty.(26)The paper quoted one interviewee, a research assistant in Faculty of Law in İstanbul University, who said that he and three other research assistants had the task of reading the examination scripts on the History of the Constitution and Revolution written by the 8,000 students in the Faculty. This meant that each academic

year, with term tests and final examinations, they had to assess 40-50 thousand papers.(27)

7.6.2. DURATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In 1985 students began to protest against student dismissals ordered under Article 44 which limited the duration of university education. The fear of being expelled became as great as the earlier fear of not being able to gain admittance to university. A total of 18,649 expulsions were ordered in 1984-85 and 14,291 in 1985-86 out of a total of 470,000 university students.(28) In response to protests, an amnesty was granted on 3 January 1986 giving failed students just one more opportunity to resit.

Since Article 44 and Regulations Nos. 5 and 10 that were concerned with mid term examinations remained unchanged and in force, protests started to grow again. On October 1986 a group of students from İzmir who had been expelled under Article 44 started to march towards Ankara accompanied by their lawyers. Another group from İstanbul carrying a letter signed by 9000 students joined them to see MPs and demand a change in the law so that even if they had not passed the examinations they could continue to attend lectures.(29) This march resulted in another amnesty being granted each year up to 1989 giving students one more resit right but there was no change in the actual law, simply in Regulation Nos. 5 and 10 to allow them to take a further mid-term resit test in order to qualify to sit the final examinations.(30)

These concessions were made to enhance the electoral prospects of the ruling party.

In October 1989, Higher Education Council's standing was badly damaged by the "Amnesty" granted under Law number 3511 to provide Restoration of Examination Rights. Under this law individual universities were left to decide the mid-term examination regulations for themselves and fix their own pass-marks. Between 1983-1991 five 'amnesty' laws passed through the Grand National Assembly to give students more rights to resit examinations.

However the mid-term tests had little educational value; their emphasis on rote learning did not increase the students' understanding of the subject, they merely tested superficial knowledge. In practice they became a threat to true education. Now the system has become even more complicated with each university having the power to decide its own rules and regulations regarding mid-term tests and often vying with one another to make these more stringent so as to establish their reputation with YÖK as institutions with high standards. In effect, this change is a threat to the unified nature of university education that was one of YÖK's main aims. (31)

In 1995 students are working as hard as they worked in 1983 and the mid-term tests still take the form of multiple choice questions and the politicians still promise to give them another chance to repeat their examinations each year. Students still face the problem of

having to pass every first and second year subject before being permitted to enter the third year. Even if they failed in just one subject they have to spend a whole year repeating just that subject before they are allowed to proceed to their final two years.(32)This rigid system is in practice relieved by the amnesties that are passed each year granting resits and negating the effect of the law. It is widely felt that the mid-term tests are unnecessary and the time spent on them would be better devoted to work designed to give a proper understanding of the subject and better preparation for the final examinations.

7.7. STUDENT ACTIVITIES AFTER 1980

After 1980 student activities were directed not towards the country's social problems but towards their own rights and their protests were no longer bloody but peaceful. The students lost all their militant, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist approach towards society. Six years after the law came into effect Dr Belge said, "If Turkish campuses used to be hotbeds of political thought they have become morgues of ideas".(33)

The changes in the eastern bloc left young people throughout the world groping to come to terms with competing ideas and this situation affected Turkish university students too, though strict control from the military and later from the civil regime kept them away from left

wing ideas. However, after 1980 certain religious movements offering alternatives to capitalism and the West started to gain ground in the higher education institutions, spreading from secondary and imam hatip schools to the universities. The activities between 1981 and 1993 focused on two main issues: attempts to change certain articles in the YÖK Law, and the 'türban' issue.

7.7.1. ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE ARTICLES IN THE YÖK LAW

7.7.1.1 *The right to establish a student union*

From 1984 onwards, students protested against the expulsion of some 3,000 university students under Article 44 (for failure to pass their examinations). Later the student activities widened to include the right to have a student union. Article 33 of the 1982 Constitution clearly states that everybody in the country can establish a society without permission. But the YÖK Law states that students cannot be a member of any society unless they get permission from their rector. These conflicting articles caused confusion amongst the students. The students made minor protests against the YÖK Law saying that the constitution gave them the right to establish unions. Although the students were not allowed to organize any seminars, conferences or discussions for themselves because of the fear of anarchy, they were in any case too busy with their tests, and mid-term examinations to do so and the police were always present.

One group of students opened their first union on October 2nd 1985 in Ankara University Law School, with their rector's permission, after a few years of demonstrations, hunger strikes and marches.(34)

Later, different authorised unions spread within the universities. However, according to the Cumhuriyet survey conducted in six universities in March 1987, only 7% of the students were members of the unions and 52% of students were not even thinking of becoming members of these unions.(35)The student unions opened up a new discussion in the universities on whether all students should automatically become members or whether membership should be voluntary.

Professor Doğramacı was the one who suggested a solution in 1986, stating that the students should, as a matter of course, have one union in each university and the union should get a money from the university budget each year and not get membership fees from the students. According to the Doğramacı model, each university would have one union with sections in the attached faculties and institutions. The first general council meeting could only be held if at least half of the students were present; if they were not the union would be suspended for that year. At subsequent meetings of unions that had sufficient students at their first meeting one third of the total student number would constitute a quorum.(36)

Doğramacı's proposals were accepted and incorporated in the regulations, so from 1987 each university should have had one society

under the control of the rector. The proposal also was presented in the parliament by the Motherland Party.

This student union model seems very similar to European, especially British, student models with regard to automatic membership for all students. However, in the British system vice-chancellors have no direct control over the student union nor is there any minimum number requirement.

Some students at the larger universities protested against the restrictions on Turkish student unions by not eating their meals and holding sit-ins. They also demanded changes in Article 44. Some of them were extremely roughly handled by the police and 250 of them were arrested. The regulation was unduly restrictive and actually designed to prevent the formation of unions while appearing to allow them. The student unions in the rest of Europe were given much greater recognition and importance. Turkish attempts to prevent the formation of student unions and to give no voice to students in university administration did not offer a long term solution to student disruption; they merely served to bottle up the problem. The student protests about one single union for each university failed and the proposal for the law by the MPs was withdrawned. There were 81 student union applications in 1988 - 89 and only 3 of them were allowed to open.

From April 1987 onwards minor student protests spread. They were mainly demanding student rights, and compared with the 1970s they were

little more than normal complaints. The police became a permanent presence on the campuses, controlling the activities of the students. The article published on 8.12.90 in Cumhuriyet gives an interesting account of how the police discharged their duties:

> There was a tension between students of İstanbul University and police forces yesterday again... The police carried out a search in the main building of the university...the students protested against this action by whistling and shouting slogans.... When they saw the police, the students started to shout slogans like 'Police out! The universities are ours,'... The head of the police force shouted, 'Stop these noises, I have got a headache today,' but the students carried on shouting. The police surrounded students, replying to the students' "Police out!" slogan with: 'This is our university too, not your father's property'.. The Minister of Education summarized the situation, saying, "The majority of the students are fed up with these activities, the most important values are love, respect and tolerance amongst students and as long they don't damage the continuity of education these actions are normal". He added that today a few people cannot impose their ideas on the masses by force; even in the world outside countries that could not previously have been thought capable of getting together were now actually uniting. (37)

As that account shows, under the YÖK rules, students in Turkey were no longer considered a danger. However, in the last few years confrontations between students and police have become more numerous and more bitter.

7.7.1.2 *Student Fees*

Another source of student unrest was Article 46 of the YÖK Law, which clearly stated that students were going to pay a maximum of one fifth of the cost of their education starting from the 1982-83 academic

year. Until 1990 the students and their families paid a purely nominal fee without any objection. On 11 April 1990, government decree number 418 (an appendix to the YÖK Law) was passed by parliament and accepted by the head of the state. It amended Article 46, changing its name from "Students' fees" to *"Current Service Payment" (cari hizmet ödeneği).* Many lawyers and academics stated that the decree conflicted with paragraph 9 of Article 130 of the Constitution. (The constitution refers to 'student fees').(38)

YÖK defended the change as a measure '*to make students aware of the cost of education'.*(39) According to the new decree, students were going to pay one-fifth of the cost of their education. This sum was to be calculated as a proportion of the actual costs of the particular university and course attended. These differential payments would result in unequal payments between the universities even in the same subjects and could have the effect of increasing the prestige of expensive courses while downgrading others.

On the other hand, the new decree gave more subsidies to the privately funded charitable foundation universities. The students in those institutions were to pay half the cost of their education and the state would pay the other half. Protests increased all over the country and students marched and begged on the streets for their fees Some students joined hunger strikes. Later the same year, YÖK announced that the students would pay only 1% of their fees and the rest would be paid by the state as a grant. Students who could not pay the required amount would sign a certificate of debt to the

university and repay this after graduation. But YÖK since then complaining about that the universities are having a financial difficulties to find resources and the only solution for this crisis could be to increase students fees back to 4 or 5%. (40)

7.7.2. THE "TÜRBAN ISSUE" AND STUDENTS

Perhaps the most vigorous student protests were made against the ban on female students covering their heads. They did so to assert what they claimed were their human rights to act in accordance with the dictates of their religion. The struggle became known generally as the "türban issue". (Although the head covering concerned did not resemble a normal türban, Doğramacı had coined the term "türban" in an effort to defuse a tense situation.)

In Islam the rules regarding women's dress are still the subject of discussion. Some people interpret the Koranic verse: "O Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them (when they go abroad)" (Surah 33, verse 59 (Mohammed Marmaduke Piccktahll translation) as a requirement to veil, but others dispute this. (41)

Historically, in Ottoman era the Muslim women in the towns wore a çarşaf. Girls had to start wearing this garment, which covered them from head to toe, at about the age of 13. The moment when they were first obliged to don this garment was a major events in their growing

up process and featured largely in many early Turkish novels. But the women in the villages never wore the çarşaf. When they were working in the fields, they wore - as they still do today - a head covering called *yemeni*. Although, as part of the dress reforms in the Republic, men were forbidden to wear the fez, it was never made illegal for women to wear the çarşaf or be veiled. Nevertheless, such forms of dress were actively discouraged and were virtually unseen until the 1980s. Many of the women who emigrated from villages to the towns after the 1950s wore a headscarf called *başörtüsü*. This did not cover the complete hair, it left some exposed in the front and did not necessarily have any religious significance. What became known as the *türban*, completely covered the hair leaving only the mouth, eyes and part of the face visible. The women who wear the türban also cover their bodies with a long coat, usually matching the colour of their headscarf.

Most of the university students who wanted to cover their heads had not covered their heads in the secondary school. The main purpose of wearing the türban was to proclaim political and religious identity, just as the socialist groups from 1960 onwards had worn a parka and adopted distinctive moustache shapes to indicate their political sympathies.

After the Republic's dress reforms were introduced state and local government employees were forbidden to cover their heads at work. Since schoolgirls were similarly prohibited from covering their heads, very religious Muslim parents seldom sent their daughters to school

after the age of 12. Once girls were admitted to imam-hatip schools these objections no longer applied and girls from religious families tended to continue their education in them. As the Islamic influence in Turkey increased following the revolution in Iran certain religious groups in Turkey began agitating against the secular nature of the Turkish Republic and campaigning to change the constitution about laicism. They regarded the türban issue as one which could further their campaign, so they organised protests that spread throughout the country. These met with a mixed reaction; some people believed that the head covering was not a political but a moral and religious issue, so if Turkey was a democratic country those women who wished to do so should be allowed to cover their heads. On the other hand many people rejected that line and stated that the *türban* was a symbol of religious campaign whose aim was to reintroduce the seriat, which would constitute a threat to democracy and secularism. On several occasions lecturers holding such views refused to allow female students to wear the türban in their classes, thereby provoking protest marches and appeals to MPs.

In 1987 the 'türban' conflict between Head of State Evren and Prime Minister Özal grew bigger. Evren was refusing to allow the headscarf in the schools, universities and public work places. On the other hand Özal was supporting the headscarf in universities and saying:

> Our universities accept as a contemporary view that heads may be covered in accordance with the individual's beliefs. The matter can be concluded (Mesele biter).(42)

On 12 January 1987 the wearing of headscarves was banned in the universities because they were not classed as "contemporary".

At the beginning of the first term of the academic year 1988-89, YÖK published a regulation concerning the wearing of the *türban* by female students who wanted to do so on the grounds of religious belief. But a group of academics who opposed this ruling went to the Council of State seeking to have it nullified. At the same time YÖK added the following regulation as Appendix 16 to the YÖK Law:

"[Students and staff] in higher education are required to wear contemporary dress in the classrooms, laboratories, medical schools and corridors. They are permitted to cover their necks and hair with *türbans* for religious reasons."

The head of State, General Evren, brought the case to the Constitutional Court to annul this appendix to the YÖK Law. The Constitutional Court cancelled this regulation on the ground that it was against laicism, which is a fundamental principle of the Constitution. (Article 2) The Court argued that the unrestricted and unsupervised freedom of religion could not be compatible with the principle of laicism and would lead to the risk of reintroducing the seriat. It referred to Article 174 of the Constitution. This is concerned with the preservation of Reform Laws and safeguarding the secular nature of the Republic. The decision was published in the Official Gazette on 5th July 1989. Thereupon, university students resorted to every trick to keep their türbans. Some came to lecture

rooms wearing their türbans and when the staff reproved them they slipped their türban off and replaced it with a wig.

The protests over the türban dispute grew so out of proportion that it seemed as if this was the only problem the country was facing. On numerous occasions, women students who insisted on wearing the *türban* in the university went to their MPs and organized protest marches.

In July 1988 Özal referred to one of the marches, saying:

> What does it matter, if one or two girls march, it is not going to overthrow the secular nature of the Turkish state.(43)

Demirel, who was the True Party leader at that time, called for a referendum on the türban issue.

On 10 March 1989 onwards the 'türban rebellion' started in the big cities and these marches carried on until late December. At this time, by coincidence, the Private Higher Education Bill was due to be debated in the GNA and Doğramacı took the opportunity to present amended dress regulations that would be applicable in all higher education institutions. (These regulations, like the law for Private Higher Education, would all form appendices to the YÖK law.) When Özal became President he ratified this bill and the dress regulations formed Appendix 17 to the YÖK Law, (number 2547) on . The appendix, which was published in the Official Gazette on 28 December 1989 states:

> The external appearance is unrestricted in the higher education institutions unless it is against the currently valid law. (44)

This law caused more disturbances in the universities. The legal situation with regard to dress in universities remained in dispute. The Constitutional Court did not rule against this appendix but it was argued that the wearing of the headscarf in government institutions was in any case proscribed. Since it was claimed that academics were public workers they were subject to the regulations governing other civil servants and these included a ban on headscarves. The constitutional articles most frequently quoted on this issue, 174, 153 and 137, do not on close examination impose a ban on headscarves. Some members of staff still would not allow students to wear the türban, claiming it was contrary to the Constitutional Court's decision to annul the second sentence of the appendix to Article 16 , "[students] are permitted to cover their necks and hair with *türbans* for religious reasons".

On 27 October 1990, Professor Doğramacı stated:

> As far as I know there is a ban against the fez in our Revolutionary Law. There is no mention of headscarves. It is not permissible to go to university wearing a fez but a headscarf is not prohibited. If there is no prohibition, then they can be worn. (45)

One student who covers her head was studying in Faculty of Political Science in Ankara between 1986-90. She related her experiences as follows:

> I decided to cover my head in the university because I realized the female students with head scarves were much more respected and more worthy of respect than the others with jeans and mini skirts. Also they were treated very badly by other students and staff. Although I believed Islam with all my heart before, I did not think I would wear Islamic dress. But because those who did were treated badly I wanted to take my place beside them, on the side of the oppressed; after all they were only doing what the Koran said. The first time I covered my head and went to the Faculty the porter said we could not enter in headscarves. We took them off and went in and an official took away our identity-cards, saying it was because they had orders from above to do so. The Faculty's policy was definitely not to allow in anyone wearing the "türban". They returned our identity-cards a few days later... Afterwards the Faculty policy softened and we could remove headscarves at the entrance and put them on again inside but we would be constantly insulted by some lecturers. However that did not stop us at all. We went to see dean several times and he listened to us and said that we all had to obey the rules. In 1989 the pressure became intense and they threatened us with disciplinary proceedings. They took our names and statements. We could not go certain lecturers lectures. But the regulation forbade not only headscarves but jeans and heavy make-up also. Furthermore, I had to put up with my family constantly pressurising me to abandon my headscarf. I accepted all these pressures because I believe that Islam decrees women should cover their heads.

Some universities are still resisting pressure to allow their students to wear headscarves, claiming it is against the secular clothing regulations as the *türban* is used as an ideological symbol. But the religious movements have applied still further pressure and türban wearing has increased. Today some young female students in the universities cover themselves completely in black, including black sunglasses, leaving only their mouths uncovered.

In 1994 a student appealed to the European Commission for Human Rights Commission to support her demand to be allowed to wear a headscarf for the photograph on her graduation certificate but her application was rejected. (46)

Some academics took the view that as university education is not compulsory those who want to have a university education have to obey the rules.

In 1994, the türban issue remained one of the most heated topics of debate in the universities. In İstanbul University Nursing School 55 women students were not allowed into the lectures with their headscarves on as they refused to wear their formal uniform. The issue became a "political show".(47) The rector of the university stated that there were 60,000 students in the university and only this 55 had a problem with their clothing. If they carried on with their action he would consider seeking help from state authorities [to have them removed]. However, the religious Welfare Party stated that they were supporting the action and would take the matter up in parliament.(48) On 19 November 1994, a crowd of 500 who came out from Friday prayers shouted slogans in support of these students.(49) The university did not change the statement and they insisted on that students should obey the dress regulation.

7.8. STUDENT SOCIAL LIFE IN THE 1980s

The university students in the 1960s and 1970s were very much interested in what was going on in the country and the world. As their numbers were low, they enjoyed an elitist life-style in the big cities. As well as attending conferences, seminars, and concerts,

they took part in political activities - both normal and in some cases violent.

After 1981 the number of students increased as the YÖK changes took effect. Coincidentally the student workload increased, with compulsory attendance and more frequent examinations leaving them hardly any time for social or political activities. Furthermore, the provincial towns where many of the new universities were located had little to offer in the way of social life, compared with the three big cities, and the universities themselves had few, if any, sports facilities.

Research published in the daily newspaper *Milliyet* on 26 December 1986 showed that 72% of the students were not following current events and cited their heavy workload as an excuse. Only 21% of the students said they followed current events and read a newspaper. 18% said that they read novels as a social activity. 70% were living away from home at that time and they all had either psychological problems and/or difficulties over accommodation and finance.(50)

In the provinces, after 1981 students felt they were being treated like criminals, followed by the locals with watchful eyes as if they posed a threat to the future of the local young people. Often, young men and young women walking together would receive hostile looks. Further problems arose from the location of most of these new universities in what were merely extensions of secondary schools,

lacking laboratories and other educational facilities expected of a university.

Students in the big cities also had a markedly different life-style from that of their predecessors. Instead of going to conferences, meetings, and seminars, they adopted what they thought of as a western life style, spending their time in cafés, and at dances, in marked contrast to their provincial counterparts. Perhaps this was simply the reaction of a young generation against their parents, the students of the 1960s and 70s, who had been so intensely engaged in politics, continually discussing such topics as socialism, capitalism, revolution and patriotism, as well as listening to classical music and in general creating an intellectual environment.

Şahin Alpay, a writer on *Cumhuriyet* daily newspaper, and his research team gave a questionnaire to 1038 students from the eight developed universities, including two Anatolian universities in Adana and Eskişehir in 1987. Asked what problems they faced, 57% of the students said lack of cultural activities, 42% lack of sports facilities, 12% lack of a canteen, and 11% lack of library facilities. Although earlier generations of students had shown a keen interest in politics and the economy of the country, 22% of the students questioned in this survey insisted that students should not be concerned with politics, but 24% stated that the main problem in the country was political and 37% thought that the country had economic problems. The change in attitudes was the result of the last ten years' government and YÖK policies. However, although students

appeared to be shunning politics, they were concerned about the environment; 84% claimed to environmentalists and were against pollution caused by industry. 49% thought that the country should be part of Europe compared with 12% who wanted to be part of the Islamic world. 22% of the students were reluctant to answer questions about politics, preferring to say, 'Don't know'. 22% said that religious education should be removed from the schools whereas 61% were in favour of religious education. 22% said that they do not read books other than their subject books. 78% said they read books but 30% could not remember what they had read that year. Half of the 48% who remembered what they had read said that they only read one book in a year. The writer argued that the students' general cultural level was far below that of the 1970s or even the 1960s.(51)

Three years later, Şükran Ketenci, also from *Cumhuriyet*, discussed another questionnaire published 1-7 April 1990, this time conducted only in Hacettepe University. He noted that although students in the developed universities in big cities had good social and sports facilities, the students there made scant use of them. According to the questionnaire, 40% did not take part in any sporting activity, only 3.2% went to the cinema or theatre once a week and 50.6% once a month; 45.5 went very rarely. 33% of the female students and 10% of the men said that they did not have a friend from the opposite sex. They also expressed their dissatisfaction with the level of competence of their lecturers and lamented that the quality of education was so low. The writer commented that the students were interested only in graduating.(52)

7.9. THE FUTURE

Increasing numbers in higher education make job prospects even bleaker. Most of the students studying subjects not of their own choice were worried about their future and looming unemployment. Jobs requiring only secondary education qualifications were and still are sought by the university graduates.

Although the students under the influence of YÖK became docile and accepted the extra examinations and the new curriculum requirements without the protest demonstrations that would have greeted such changes in earlier years, their future employment prospects did not improve. The watchword for students at university became, in effect, *"Pass the year and get a diploma!"*

The unequal conditions between the well-established universities and the new provincial universities, with the latter having much poorer staff/student ratios, leave the graduates from the provincial universities at a great disadvantage in the job market. They mostly end up in jobs that do not require a university qualification, though they still regard themselves as fortunate to get a job at all. Mostly they are the beneficiaries of the Turkish tradition of "işe göre adam değil, adamına göre iş" ("not 'a man for the job' but 'a job for the man'"). The State Planning Organization publishes manpower planning proposals in its five-year plans, but these plans are undermined by politicians eager to have universities opened in their constituencies.

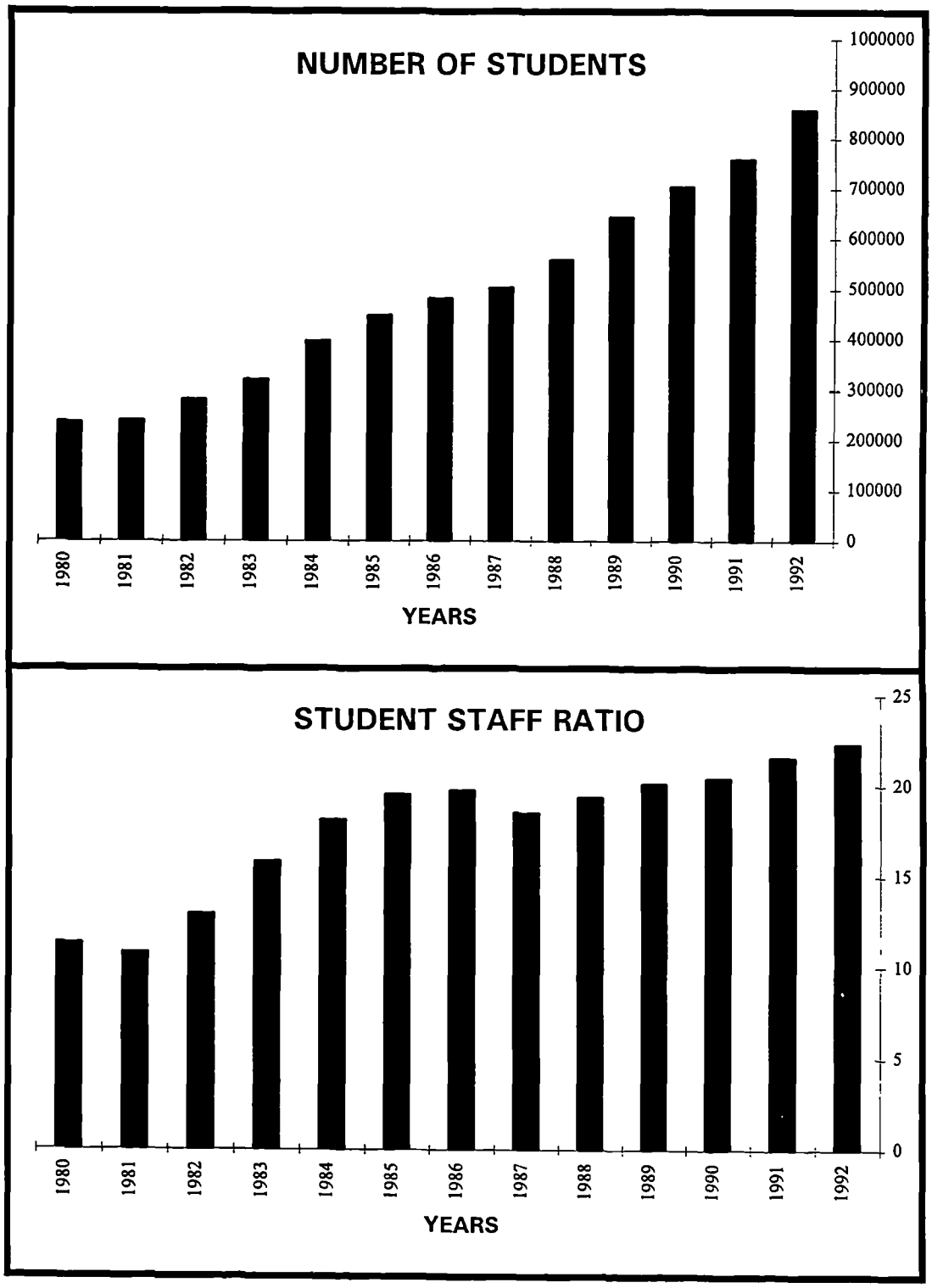

FIGURE 12. STUDENT NUMBERS AND STUDENT/STAFF RATIOS 1980-1992

7.10. THE DEMAND FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN TURKEY TODAY

According to the 1990 general census, Turkey's total population is 54,493,839, of whom 15,389,105 are under the age of 12 and a further 14,288,625 are between 13 and 24. In other words, 54% of the population is under 25. The future of Turkey will be in their hands.(53) The same census results show that the illiteracy rate has been reduced to 13% and that number of urban and rural inhabitants became almost equal in 1990.

With a youthful and demanding population, Turkey has a growing unemployment problem, so young people are eager to gain university places in order to improve their prospects in the job market. Between 1980 and 1994 the percentage of the 18-25 age group in higher education rose from 5.9% to 21% and demand is still growing.(54)

Of students the 1,154,327 candidates who took the 1993 university entrance examinations only 345,000 (29.8%) were successful.(55) In 1994 1,192,00 students sought entry into the 57 universities. 250,000 will get places at the Open University, 90,000 will go to vocational higher education colleges and 40,000 will be able to start the usual degree courses lasting four or more years. The government is seeking a solution to the problem posed by the remaining 800,000 candidates (68% of the total) and aims to place them in the new universities.

Personal observation of the careers of many students proceeding from lise to university and beyond since YÖK came into existence reveals a fairly typical pattern. The graduates from the provincial universities cannot easily find employment related to their studies and therefore take postgraduate teacher training courses and eventually become teachers in other parts of Turkey. A few graduates may succeed in getting a job in engineering or a research assistantship in another less developed university in another town. The actual unemployment rate amongst these graduates may be low as the posts they take are not necessarily appropriate for their qualifications. The story is different for those who went to private secondary schools and read for degrees in the well established universities. They have better job prospects as well other possibilities such as going abroad for postgraduate education.

In many cases the parents are more worried about their children's education than are the students themselves. Parental pressure can be intense, some of the parents appearing to live only for their children's education and being willing to make any material or mental sacrifice for this end.

As the number of points needed to enter the provincial universities is lower than required for a place at the more prestigious institutions in Istanbul and Ankara, they mostly attract students from provincial towns and villages as their points in the entrance examinations tend to be lower. Such students from the provincial towns cannot compete

on equal terms with students in the big cities where lises have superior facilities and teachers.

But the role of the regional universities is important as they do not only help meet student demand but can also assist in furthering regional development and thereby help to stop migration from small towns to the big cities.

7.11. STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

In 1993, questionnaires were distributed to 100 students at four well-established Turkish universities in Ankara and seven students from the Open University.(56) In addition, personal interviews were also conducted with some of them. Anonymity was promised in order to encourage respondents to give accurate information. However the students were very willing to talk about their rights and their future.

1. 49 female and 51 male students took part in the survey.

2. Their average age was 21.

3. Their university distribution was as follows:

Hacettepe University, Ankara	35
Ankara University	28

Gazi University	26
Open University	7
Middle East Technical University, Ankara	4

4. Their subject distribution was:

Science....	20
Medical Schools.....	18
Law Schools...	12
Social Sciences...	11
Engineering...	11
Business Studies.....	11
Two years Tech. College..	7
Dental School....	6
Education Faculties..	4

5. The subject they were studying was on average their seventh choice. Only 36 of them were studying one of their first three choices.

6. Asked why they were studying their subject:

45% said it was determined by their examination results, in other words they did not particularly choose the subject,
36% said it was their own choice,
15% said it would give them better opportunities on graduation but this subject was not among their first

five choices.

4% said it was their family's choice.

7. Asked how many times they had taken the university entrance examinations before gaining a place on their course:

50% said 1

31% said 2

12% said 3

4% said 4.

Amongst the 18 students in medical schools (where places are hardest to get) only 7 had been successful at their first attempt; on average they had made 2.5 attempts to gain a place there. This contrasts with the average of 1.1 attempts made by the 12 law school students surveyed; 9 of them entered at their first attempt.

8. Asked what had made the most effective contribution to their success in the entrance examinations:

34% said their own studying (88% of this group also attended private courses.

49% said their private courses (but a total of 79% had followed a private course.)

10% said their lise education

4% said their families

2% said a combination of all factors

1% said individual private tutorials that they had received.

9. Asked, their feelings towards their subject:

39% said they accepted the inevitable and would make the best of it

36% said they were obliged to take it *faute de mieux*

22% said they are very happy.

Only 3% said that they will resit in the hope of qualifying for a preferred subject.

10. Asked who paid their university fees:

(In 1992 the Turkish term for university fees *Üniversite harcı* was changed to *cari hizmet ödeneği* (literally: current service payment) and was in theory calculated as 5% of the total costs of the individual student's university education including maintenance of classrooms, etc., and so varied from university to university and from course to course.)

50% said state loans

44% said family

6% said they worked to pay their own way (all of these were from the Open University)

No respondents were in receipt of a grant from industry.

11. Asked their main reason for studying in the university:

48% said it was to achieve a better status in society.

31% said they wanted to earn more money.

16% said for personal and job satisfaction.

5% said it was to qualify to do their army service as an officer rather than in the ranks.

12. Asked when they expected to get a job after graduation:

55% thought very soon.

23% said they would have to undertake further study in order to get a better job.

22% were very pessimistic about the job situation and thought they had very little chance of finding a job.

13- Asked about the preferred location of their future employment:

23% said they would only like to work in the city where they graduated.

37% said they would only like to work in big cities.

6% said they would be prepared to work in east and south east Turkey.

28% said they would be prepared to work anywhere.

6% said they had an opportunity to work abroad .

14. Asked if they thought the university selection and placement examinations allocated students according to their abilities:

97% said no

3% said yes.

15. The educational levels of the parents of these students were:

Fathers	Mothers	
24%	33%	five years primary education
12%	9%	lower secondary school
17%	19%	lise
41%	24%	university
6%	15%	other schools such as vocational secondary and primary teacher training schools.

16. Asked if they wished to add anything, 67% did not respond. The distribution of the 33% who did comment was:

6 out of 18 medical school students

5 out of 11 business students

4 out of 7 at technical colleges

11 out of 20 science students

3 out of 11 social science students

1 out of 12 law students

3 out of 4 education faculty students

1 out of 6 dental school students.

7.11.1. COMMENTS FROM UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

The topics they chose to comment on were:

- YÖK and the university examination system,

- fees were one of the main complaints

- student hostels, their control over students' comings and goings and their limited facilities such as food and library provision

- the inadequacy of student loans

- the overcrowding on their courses (most medical school students stated this as a problem)

- six students asserted that the system was not for the students but against them

- 15 out of 33 thought their lecturers were not competent to teach them and not enthusiastic about their job and consequently their lectures were not interesting - students attended lectures not to enjoy them but simply to take notes as there are inadequate textbooks and library facilities.

- 9 out of 33 said they had no social life out of university; even going to the cinema proved a hassle

- 4 considered that university did not give them what they wanted; they did not even have a chance to talk with their lecturers and they would have been better off if they had become taxi drivers or waitresses instead of putting in all the effort to come to university.

- 8 opined that in the system that prevailed in Turkey contacts were more important than ability and qualifications; it was almost impossible to get the best jobs if you did not have the right contacts

- 8 medical students complained about the four years compulsory service they were obliged to do after graduating

- 23 said that the university entrance examination system is faulty because multiple-choice questions cannot properly measure true abilities and real knowledge, but this unsatisfactory system will determine most graduates' future careers.

- 2 students emphasised that young people were eager to give of their abilities but nobody wanted to use them

- 1 student remarked that Turkey tries to copy the West in everything but fails to do so when it comes to educating students according to their abilities.

7.11.2. NOTES ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The group of students surveyed were chosen randomly in Ankara, which now has five developed universities. 56% of the students were living with their families in Ankara, which contains a high proportion of civil servants and white collar workers. The other 44% were living in the hostels or in a flats with their friends.

The student loans are very low (500,000 TL from 1993 September onwards). It is very expensive for families to put their children through university education, particularly if they go to a university in another town. This is therefore a major problem for low income families. The cost of getting into university is also extremely high. 81% of the students who answered the questionnaire had been to "crammers" (79% attending classes and 2% receiving individual private tutorials) costing between 5,000,000 TL to 50,000,000 TL in 1993. Only wealthy professional, merchant or farming families can afford to provide these facilities for their children and even then they often have to make very real sacrifices .

The survey reveals a high proportion of students (32%) who came to university after attending private rather than state secondary schools.

The educational levels of the parents of the students surveyed were higher than the average in the country. The fact their fathers tended to be better educated than their mothers is a consequence of traditional values and the social structure of the country. The mothers with university degrees were married to husbands who were also university graduates. Children of parents with university education tended to take the longer and more demanding courses. The distribution of those with graduate parents was: 17 out of the 18 in medical school, 5 out of 6 dental school students, and 13 out of 31 engineering and science subjects such as environmental engineering, 3 out of 11 social science and 3 out of 11 business studies. But it is noteworthy that even though the survey was conducted in Ankara, which can be considered elitist since it is the capital and has no heavy industry, 59% of the parents of the students surveyed did not have a university degree.

However, all 12 law school students and 5 of the 11 students from business studies had parents who had only primary school education and none had a university degree. The parents of 11 of these students were living in the provinces. It can be safely assumed that the fathers were mostly merchants or farmers who wanted their children to become influential lawyers or bankers.

The parental occupations of the rest were mostly minor civil servants, small merchants or service industry employees such as porters, taxi drivers, or bank clerks, who wanted their children to have a better education then they had had themselves and were making sacrifices to educate them. In fact, 9 out of 12 law students stated that they wanted a degree to improve their social status, compared with only 8 out of 18 medical students who gave the same answer.

Urbanisation has increased the demand for university education. Families that would not formerly have thought of sending their children to university now regard it as essential to do so.

Although 22% said their chance of finding a job was very slim, most respondents were optimistic, with 55% expecting to find work immediately and 23% after a postgraduate degree, mainly after postgraduate teacher training. Of the pessimists, 15 were from the 20 science students surveyed and 7 were from the 11 social science students. They had also tried the university entrance examination more than once and were not happy with the subjects they were studying.

The answers to the question on the degree of subject satisfaction felt by students (with only 22% expressing themselves as happy but only 3% so unhappy that they will resit the entrance and selection examinations to try to change course) suggests that for most students (75% in this case) the actual subject being studied is not of prime

concern, what is important to these students is simply being at university.

The students even in Ankara's developed universities face serious hardships but they face these with determination in order to gain their degrees, regardless of the quality of the university education they are being offered. One of the chief motivating factors is the comparative worthlessness of secondary level education qualifications. Those who have not been to university cannot expect to get attractive employment.

The high proportion of students eager to attend universities in the main cities rather than in the provinces points to the problems facing regional planners in Turkey. If the regional universities were better able to cater for the needs of local students more of these students would be happy to attend them and the universities themselves might be able to make a greater contribution to regional development. (44% of the students who answered the questionnaire were living own their own as we can assume that they were from the other region)

Although in the absence of comparable earlier surveys it is difficult to prove, it would appear from the answers given to this questionnaire that in the 1980s and the early 1990s the character of Turkish young people has changed and become more materialistic compared with the more idealistic youth of the 1960s and 1970s who thought they could produce solutions for the problems the country was facing.

7.12. ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Every country has its own specific way of regulating entry into its higher education system. Some countries accept students who have gained certain grades in their secondary school examinations, some countries with greater demand for higher education make candidates take additional sets of examinations in order to decide who is to be allowed to enter higher education. Most countries demand some preliminary qualifications in at least five subjects, often including the native language, mathematics and a modern language.

In England, Wales and Northern Ireland at least five passes at General Certificate in Education (GCE) are required for degree level courses, of which two must be of A level standard, although most candidates for entry attempt three A-level subject and already have at least 6 General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE or O-level) passes.

Some countries like Belgium, France and Germany use one uniform national examination for admission to university. The American system is different from the European and comprises standarised attainment tests.

In the Netherlands and Germany the problem of excessive demand is so great that a "lottery" is operated in which an individual's chances are weighted by marks attained in the secondary school leaving examinations.

The Turkish secondary school model is centralised under the Ministry of Education, and most secondary schools, under which term we shall for our present purposes include both orta okuls (which offer a three-year course) and lises (lycées) (which offer an additional three-year course), give a general education to prepare pupils for universities. It can be argued that the main aim of the secondary school system is to get pupils into university. The secondary school leaving examinations are not required and do not give an access to university education. (Since 1991 the lise education has been changed and the system is based on credit accumulation. The students take some compulsory plus some optional subjects to develop both their "sözel" (linguistic, literary, and general 'arts') and their "sayısal" (mathematical and scientific) abilities. Perhaps not surprisingly, the system has similarities to the Japanese model; in both countries secondary education is geared to achieving success in university entrance examinations since these are the key to future job prospects.

The battle for university places is fierce. Candidates apply during their final year at *lise* (whether ordinary or vocational) to take the nationwide two tier Student Selection Placement Examinations generally first tier is referred as ÖSS (Öğrenci Seçme Sınavı) Student Selection Examination and the second tier is called ÖYS (Öğrenci Yerleştirme Sınavı) Student Placement Examination. The university entrance examinations are machine graded as in Japan and USA and designed to reinforce certain subjects in the lise curriculum. Multiple-choice questions are asked in the examinations and the candidates who are not familiar with this system attend private

"crammers" - as in Japan - in order to improve their chance of getting a better place. These intensive courses have become a highly profitable enterprise in Turkey. These courses do, of course, have social costs as well, since students have to give up other activities in order to cope with the course work as well as their ordinary school work. Both the social and financial costs of taking these two-stage university examinations have a profound affect on the whole of Turkish society.

The two-stage examination system covers Turkish, social science, science, a foreign language and mathematics. Those who correctly answer 105 or more of the 150 questions (comprising 32 Turkish, 41 social science, 32 mathematics, and 45 science) are selected for the second stage of the selection procedure. Their first stage results are evaluated and given weighting in the three categories according to the abilities they have revealed: "sözel" (Turkish, a compulsory foreign language, arts and social sciences) and "sayısal" (mathematics and science). The compulsory foreign language element is given additional weighting: the standard mark x 0.1. Successful candidates carry forward their marks from this stage to count for 50% of the total after completing the second stage.

Candidates who are successful in the first stage can list a prescribed number of institutions where they would be willing to take their university courses. (The prescribed number changes each year. It is now 24, in 1993 it was 36.)

The second stage is the Student Placement Exam (ÖYS - Öğrenci Yerleştirme Sınavı). This examination can be taken one or other of the two different categories "sözel" and "sayısal". The actual examination for which candidates are entered is dependent not upon the lise or vocational lise subjects they studied but upon the results they achieved in the first examination (ÖSS). Although it is necessary to be a lise graduate to qualify for admission to university, the lise education itself is otherwise not an important factor for university entrance. The average marks accumulate throughout a candidate's lise education are taken into consideration only at the second stage of the university entrance examination. These marks are multiplied by 0.6 and, like the marks from Stage 1, added to the final total after Stage 2. For example, for a student with an average mark of 7 out of 10 throughout lise: 7 X 0.6 = 4.2. So the lise achievement will increase the overall final mark by 4.2%.

For most candidates entry into a large, well-established university is of far greater concern than the subject they will be allowed to study there. Since these universities are very heavily over subscribed, the pressure to do well in the two-stage (ÖSS and ÖYS) examinations is intense. Candidates feel that achievement of their future goals is dependent upon their success in these examinations. In recent years the battle for places has become fiercer than ever and many private schools have opened promising their pupils success in the university entrance examinations and also providing their education in English. In addition to these private schools there are many expensive special courses offering preparation for the university examinations and

claiming they will enable their pupils to secure a place on whatever university course they want.

7.13. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNIVERSITY CANDIDATES

In 1993, the questionnaires were distributed to 100 candidates in Ankara, all from state schools. 40 of them were in the last year of their *lise* education and the other 60 had already finished lise but had not succeeded in gaining any higher education place other than an open university place.

7.13.1. THE AIM OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The main aim of this questionnaire was to find the students' attitudes to the present system: how candidates see the system, how much they trust it and how fierce they find the race to get a university place regardless of the cost, and how they view the provincial universities. As the candidates surveyed came mostly from what could be described as professional or middle class families, the survey also indicates how young people from such a background in Turkey currently view their job prospects. (59)

7.13.2. ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The answers to the questions revealed that:

1. 52 female and 48 male candidates took part in survey.

2. Their average age was 19, although 64 were under 19.

3. Asked how many times they had taken the examination, including this one:

   40 said that this would be their first attempt
   45 said it would be their second attempt
   Other 15 of them tried more than twice
   Only one (a man of 33) said this would be his seventh attempt.
   The average was 1.8 attempts.

4. Asked how they were preparing for university exams:

   46 said they were attending an intensive course,
   5 said they would attend a course before the examinations,
   10 said they were attending a course of a few hours a week,
   10 said they were having private tuition for the examination
   29 said that they were preparing without any outside help.

5. Asked who was paying for the preparatory tuition:

61 of the 71 concerned said that their families were paying.

8 said they were working and earning the fees.

2 said they were getting the course fees from other sources.

6. Asked what made them to choose their particular course:

25 out of the 71 said that it was their family's choice,

15 said because it cost less than the others

19 said that the cost was not important, they anticipated better results from their choice of tuition

10 said the course guaranteed them a place on the university course they wanted.

2 said they chose for other reasons.

(Although all these candidates were from state schools, only 21% were at all worried about the cost of this special tuition.)

7. Asked about their chance of gaining the place they wanted:

20% said their chance was very strong,

46% were not sure.

34% said it did not matter to them as long as they got a place.

8. Asked their opinions of the *lise* diploma:

3% said that *lise* education is sufficient to find a job

51% said *lise* education facilitates entrance to university.

46% said *lise* education gave students nothing but general knowledge.

9. Asked why they wanted to enter university:

6 said it was their family's wish

40 said it was their own wish.

1 said he could not find a job at the moment so he might as well improve his employment prospects by getting a degree.

3 said a degree would enable them to find better jobs in the future.

10 said they wanted to help the development of the country.

7 out of 48 males (15% of the male respondents) answered that they did not want to go into the army as private soldiers so they would try to get a degree in order to qualify to serve as officers or short term private soldiers when conscripted.

10. Asked if they would apply for a places in provincial universities:

46 said they would be willing to study in a provincial university.

54 said they would not apply.

11. When the 54 who said they would not go to a provincial university were asked why:

14 (25%) said it was for financial reasons.

12 (22%) out of 54 (all 12 of whom were female) said that their

family did not want them to go.

28 out of 54 (51%) said that they did not consider them adequate.

12. Asked their estimate of how successful they would be in finding a job after graduating from university:

25% said they were very optimistic.

28% said their chances were very slim.

47% said they would only be able to find a job after further education.

13. Asked what they would do if they were not successful in the university entrance exams:

69 said they would try again.

12 said they would try to find a job.

7 of the male candidates said they would do their military service.

12 said they would do something different, mostly trying to start a business.

14. Asked which subjects they most wanted to study:

54 said social science, law and business and management studies.

20 said it did not matter to them as long as they got any university place

16 said engineering.

6 said medicine

2 said Fine Art Academy

2 said Academy of Sport

(These answers reveal a sharp swing towards subjects like law and business studies in the last decade, no doubt as a consequence of Turkey's adoption of the free market economy. Previously medicine, in particular, was in great demand.)

15. The educational levels of the parents of these candidates were:

Fathers	Mothers	
23%	33%	Five years primary education
16%	10%	Lower Secondary school
29%	27%	Lise
30%	27%	University
2%	3%	Other schools such as vocational secondary and primary teacher training schools.

Of the 30 fathers who had a university degree only 17 had wives who were university graduates. The other 10 mothers with university degrees had husbands who were lise graduates and were businessmen.

16. Asked if they thought the university selection and placement examinations gave a good indication of a candidate's ability:

82% said no.

18% said yes.

17. Asked if they wished to add anything:

70 said no

30 said yes.

The most frequent comments were:

1. The fact that university fees are so high gives an unfair advantage to children from wealthy families. (10 out of 30 mentioned this).

2. University entrance exams should be abolished because they do not place students according to their abilities. (25 out of 30)

3. The students spend all their time preparing themselves for the university entrance examinations and only try to learn how to answer multiple choice questions. (20 out of 30)

4. Some universities should be privatised so that wealthy students can get a place in them leaving places in the state funded universities for others. (5 out of 30).

7.13.3 RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. The lack of confidence in the usefulness of the university examination system was clearly shown by the 82% of respondents who declared these examinations failed to allocate places to students according to their abilities. Moreover the unsatisfactory nature of the multiple choice questions provides a strong incentive to students to attend special courses to learn the technique for answering them. (Some respondents commented that the multiple choice concept starts to loom so large in their lives that they can think of little else, even considering a breakfast menu according to available choices!)

2. The cost of preparing for the entrance examinations was high and clearly represented a considerable sacrifice on the part of most of the families concerned. Typical civil servants and service sector employees who formed the majority of the parents would not be able to afford such fees without borrowing money from the banks or selling valuable possessions. The fact that only 15 out of 71 (21%) who were attending the courses were worried about the cost indicates the high value their families place on university education. The main motive for such parents is to be able to give their children a better life than they themselves had enjoyed; in order to achieve that a university degree seems essential. The increasing prevalence of this belief is demonstrated by the fact that in only thirty of the hundred families concerned did one or more parent have a university degree.

3. The family devotion to university education is again shown by the high number of candidates who would resit the examinations again and again if necessary. (In fact 60 of the respondents were resitting, 10 for the third time and one for the seventh!) This represented continuing sacrifices by the parents, as most candidates looked to them to pay for their courses.

This finding indicates another change that has occurred in Turkish society in recent years. Before the dramatic rise in the number of university places far fewer families were faced with this problem. Now that more places are available many families regard it as a source of embarrassment or even shame if their children cannot get one. They are willing to indulge their children and excuse them all normal chores so that they can "study" for the examinations. The candidates regard themselves as superior to those who leave school without going to university because they are not intelligent enough. So apart from going to school and working for the exams they do not help their families meet their expenses and they spend their free time going to cafés, cinemas and theatres with their friends. Their parents' only expectations from them is to carry on their education. A university education is a privilege for which the students and their parents are willing to work hard.

4. 29 out of the 100 said they were preparing by themselves without attending special courses. However, these candidates did not have any high ambition: 9 out of 29 said they wanted to go to be admitted to the open university (candidates with a score of 105 or more in the

first examination are eligible for a place without further examination) 6 out the 29 said they wanted to get a place on the Tourism Management course, 2 out 29 said they wanted to attend Academy of Sports and 2 the Fine Arts Academy (for both of which the special second stage examination is a test of aptitude). 10 of the 29 said they did not mind what course they did as long as they got a place in any university.

The remaining 71 candidates themselves or their families (25% said their family chose their course) had a higher ambitions. Only 6 said their reason for taking the examination was to please their families.

5. The candidates were not very optimistic about getting their first choice; only 20 out of 100 thought they would be able to do the degree they wanted. Of this group of 20, 10 were attending preparatory courses for the entrance examinations that guaranteed them a place on the university course of their choice. Remaining 10 of 20's were attending a dense preparatory courses and 7 of them said the cost of the preparatory course was not important and the other 3 said their families had chosen the preparatory course for them. The candidates who gave this answer are relying for success on the courses rather than their lise education. For the rest, 46 said they were not sure whether they would get a place at all, and 34 said they did not mind what degree course they did as long as they had a place in the university. Thus, aptitude and ability are secondary in the candidates' minds to the desire for any place at all. But even if they manage to enter the university they still fear that their chance

of getting a job after graduation is not very bright. Only 25% were optimistic, the other 75% still felt the job market was not good now and unlikely to be better in four years' time. So their main motivation in trying to get into university is not even to get a better job (although 36% said it was) or for their country's sake (which again 10% said it was); 75% thought the future job situation - even with a degree - would be difficult. The distinction that Dore drew between education and qualification (' *..if education is learning to do a job, qualification is a matter of learning in order to get a job*' (58) sadly does not apply in the Turkish case.

6. Another point was the candidates' feelings towards provincial universities. 54 of the candidates said that they would not go to a provincial university. 12 of them, who were all female, said it was because of their families did not want them to go. The families are very concerned about sending their daughters to the provinces as the concept of honour (namus) there is very different from that in the big cities. The provincial towns are more conservative and traditional; to be a female in these places poses problems for young women from Ankara and Istanbul. The provincial women tend to follow traditions and not mix openly with men. Students coming to these provincial universities find that accommodation is difficult to find as universities there are not developed. A few students usually get together and rent a flat in the city as happens in the West. Female students share accommodation with other female students and local people watch their every step. They cannot invite their fellow male

students to visit them there as the locals would assume there was some reprehensible relationship between them. The cultural difference is such that some of the local people call the police on the slightest pretext, claiming that these girls are bad examples to their own children. It is therefore understandable that families prefer to keep their daughters at home for another year so they can try to get a university place in their own city.

14 out of the 54 said their reason for not going to the provincial universities was financial. Sending a young person to university in another city is very costly for civil servants and others on modest salaries as the state student loans are only symbolic. The families have to pay for the students' rent, fees, text books and living expenses. If the provincial universities want to become more attractive they may have to offer some extra grants or loans to the students.

28 out of 54 said that they did not think that the provincial universities were adequate. The provincial universities have many problems with regard to equipment and staff. Qualified staff usually stay in the developed universities. Potential staff who have been educated in the big cities like Ankara naturally prefer to stay in the same city as they feel they have a right to get a place in their own city. However, candidates from the provincial towns also prefer developed universities as they feel these offer better conditions. But the candidates of big cities tend to do better in the university

entrance and placement examinations as they have a higher chance of attending preparatory courses.

In the long run, however, the state should help the provincial universities more to become attractive choices for both candidates and staff from all over the country. Otherwise, regionalism will present Turkey with yet more problems.

7. 69 out of the 100 said, ' I will try again' when asked what they would do if they did not succeed in the entrance examinations. Only 12 said they would try to find a job. Most students would carry on taking the university entrance examinations again and again regardless of their capacity to pass them, or of the money it cost. 7 of them said they would go to do their military service if they did not pass the entrance examinations (which they had all attempted more than twice). Another 12 who said they would do some other things such as business had also tried more than once. (An increasingly popular ambition of Turkish young people is to build their own business as more and more people want to earn money through export or tourism business.)

8. There is a growing tendency to opt for social science and business studies in Turkey, in contrast to the trend in the 1970s and 80s. Only 16% wanted to do an engineering degree and 6% wished to have a place in medical school compared with the 54% who wanted to study social science, law and business studies. The remaining 20% said they did not mind whether they studied social science or natural science.

This trend towards social sciences may be described as a result of the cost of education as social subjects do not need so many laboratories and experimental studies. However another incentive may arise from Turkey's new policies on relationships with the common market and the Turkic republics.

9. The level of their parents' education did not affect the candidates' wishes to enter a higher education. Only 17% of candidates came from families where both parents had a university education. Again, most mothers' educational levels were lower than those of fathers; 33% of mothers had not gone beyond primary education, compared with 23% of fathers. Overall the parents from every educational background wanted their children to get a better chance than they themselves had received.

10. Overall, students see the current system as unrewarding and burdensome for themselves and their parents. They do not trust the system to place candidates according to their ability and they believe that they are the victims of the current system but this does not stop them preparing themselves for the examinations no matter how much and how many years it costs them.

Another widespread belief is that the only people who like the system are those teachers and private tutors who offer preparatory courses.

11. It is clear from the attitudes expressed about lise education that changes are needed there. Lise students did not see this phase of their post-compulsory education as one that could itself lead to any employment. They said that their lise teachers usually allowed them to disregard the topics they were supposed to teach and instead to concentrate on preparing for the university examinations. As a consequence the students felt the lise education was of no intrinsic value.

The introduction of a clearly specified lise curriculum would be beneficial to both students and teachers and help to boost the importance of this phase of education. A nationally accepted lise final examination would offer a more useful means of evaluating the quality of the students, the school and its teaching than the multiple-choice university entrance examinations provide. It would give a better basis for selection, and, as Broadfoot says: "As societies move towards a meritocratic basis for the allocation of occupational roles, it becomes necessary to find a rational means of selection". (59)

Furthermore, lise education in Turkey could usefully be extended so that instead of being simply a preparation for the university entrance examinations it could offer more genuine subject teaching and a choice of vocational preparation courses for the first three years and then,

either like British A level or German Abitur, there could be specialised subject courses in preparation for university. Final lise examinations could provide a better indication of suitability for university education than the present multiple-choice examinations. Such a change might reduce the demand from unsuitable students for places in universities while bringing equality of opportunity to every student according to their ability and achievement while eliminating the 'crammers' that now provide preparation courses. It might also let universities have greater control over student admissions.

12. The government should reconsider its policy of providing ever more university student places as a substitute for job creation. In many instances the present system is merely delaying and exacerbating the frustration experienced by graduates who cannot find work.

7.14. COMMENTS

The demand for paper qualifications in the shape of university degrees has become a major problem in modern Turkey. It is regarded as essential for anyone hoping to keep up with the times and to improve in terms of social class and status. However, as the number of graduates increases, the competition for jobs intensifies and has now reached the point where people without university degrees find themselves at a disadvantage even when seeking jobs such as bus driving that really require no formal academic qualifications.

One problem for university applicants is the requirement to list 24 separate courses. Many of those courses are of no interest to the applicants but they may be allocated to a department or course they do not really want. Recently the number of social science and arts courses has been increased because these are cheaper than courses in science. The answers to the questionnaire clearly showed that this system enjoys no credibility with present students and applicants. A high proportion of students are now on courses that they endure rather than enjoy. The large number of choices that have to be listed works to the advantage of the authorities rather than of the students; it enables poorly subscribed courses to be filled but leaves the students on these courses frustrated.

The frustration is increased by the awareness that placement on a particular course is often the result of a virtual lottery because the multiple choice questions that constitute the examination give candidates a one in five chance of getting a correct answer even to a question on something they know nothing about. Furthermore, their very broad lise education which one of the main problem originated from there - has not given them the opportunity to discover where their true abilities and interests lie, so they are scarcely in a position to make an informed choice anyway.

It will be increasingly difficult to make effective use of the products of this system. As Szyliowicz has pointed out:

> Turkey already suffers from severe unemployment and manpower problems. It has a surplus of trained personnel in so many

> fields that many university graduates have great difficulty in finding positions in any field, and the phenomenon of unemployed graduates is already quite widespread. Now the government will have to confront, in a few years, a flood of students who have received a low quality education, who possess few if any skills of relevance to the needs of the productive sectors, but whose expectations have been heightened. The political implications of this state of affairs are obvious.(60)

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the university students currently at Turkish universities still only represent 0.15% percentage of the population in the country as a whole. This is the same ratio as that in Italy in 1920 and the Netherlands in 1930.(61)

The pressure Turkish university students face today is great: finding the necessary fees, the heavy burden of frequent examinations, and finding accommodation are only a few of the pressures to which they are subjected. Consequently, they have hardly any time to become involved in politics. Some people (including Doğramacı) claim that this is a positive effect of the increased pressure and ensures that students spend their time more acceptably than the older generations of students who were either idle or engaged in political activity.

Since 1980 Turkey has been pulled in two different directions: western ideas and religious fundamentalist ideas are competing for supremacy. Inevitably young people, including university students, will be caught up in this contest arousing fears that the violence YÖK had succeeded in elimination may reappear.

It may be argued that previous student excesses and the subsequent tight control YÖK exercised to end campus violence had the effect of stifling the liberal attitudes that Barnett regards as an integral part of a true university education:

> Significant measures of freedom are necessary if the student is to acquire the virtues of intellectual independence, toughness, empathy with others' views, and willingness to engage in meaningful conversation. But the acquisition of those very virtues requires the student to submit to the demands of intellectual life, as experienced within an institution with all its vicissitudes... All this is tantamount to saying that, even in the role of the student, the academic life exerts particular and considerable demands on the individual.(62)

At the present stage of development in Turkey it is not easy to find the right balance to allow the achievement of all these aims. Both the system and the students give first priority to finishing the university education process as soon as possible. Regrettably, the problem thereafter is the lack of suitable employment opportunities, though it is precisely to boost employment prospects that most students go to university.

7.15. CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that there have been considerable changes for university students since 1980. Controls are now much stricter, safety has increased, political activity has diminished and there are now many more students at university. At the same time, the level of student dissatisfaction, as revealed by the questionnaire, has fallen.

Analysis clearly showed that neither students nor candidates were happy with the current system. Nevertheless, since the chances of employment for those who have no more than a lise diploma are even bleaker than for those who are university graduates, the incentive of improved job prospects continues to create a growing demand for university places. This demand is further heightened by social considerations; the higher prestige enjoyed by university graduates proves an added attraction. The trend is likely to continue as the children of graduates are more likely than others to expect to enter universities. (The questionnaires showed that 41% of present students have at least one parent with a university degree.) Thus, although elitism in the universities has been reduced by YÖK, it has not been eliminated.

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CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has traced the profound changes that Turkish higher education has undergone in recent years and examined the impact of the Higher Education Law and the new centralized council that it introduced. In the course of that examination it was demonstrated that Turkey has now opted for a model of university education distinctly different from what it had before 1980.

As has been shown, Turkey's economic, political and social circumstances dictated a move away from the higher education system that made provision only for a small élite. So, in common with many other developing countries, the Republic accepted the need to provide higher education for vastly increased numbers. This required the authorities to rethink the philosophy underlying higher education in Turkey. After examining models to be found in various parts of the developed world, they chose a highly centralized system in which the government exercised close and strict control.

After lengthy discussions on the philosophy of higher education, the Turkish authorities opted for a system that was intended to meet Turkey's manpower needs rather than one designed first and foremost to train the mind. This trend can be seen throughout the world; since

the 1950s there has been a noticeable move towards vocational education. This has gone a long way towards ending the elitism of higher education; universities are now accessible to the masses. This change has inevitably led to increased industrial and political influence upon universities. Since the manpower and research demands stem from industry and government, industry and government tend to dictate increasingly what goes in universities. Although the "Magna Carta" of European universities which was signed in 1988 declared: "a university's research and teaching must be morally and intellectually independent of all political authority and economic power"(1) this does not reflect current realities.

Although education - apart from religious education - had been neglected in the Ottoman era, since 1923 Turkey has done its best to make up lost ground. In 1927 only 10.6% of the population was literate compared with today when only 13% is illiterate. The period between 1923 and the 1940s was marked by significant change. In the early years of the republic most people did not want to send their children to school. Stories recall that when Ankara University was built in 1946 the university did not have enough students so they even accepted people without any *lise* qualifications. Today the situation is reversed: most of the population want their children to be educated to a high level so that they can become professionals.

Turkish universities, compared with some of their western counterparts, have a fairly recent history. However, when they did appear they took western models and became elite and autonomous

institutions. The academics and students were from the middle class and had a strong interest in the social, political and economic problems of the country. It was therefore not surprising that from the late 1950s onwards universities became politicized and directly involved in the country's problems.

University people generally believed that as they were an elite they could solve the problems of the country by helping the masses. Through the introduction of Village Institutes to train primary school teachers for the villages, young people from the villages obtained a primary and eventually secondary education and the right of access to university. Significant numbers of graduates from the Village Institutes had a great appetite for learning and went on into higher education. This proved an initial step to ending elitism in Turkish universities. As the path to higher education widened and opened up prospects for ordinary citizens from 1960 onwards every village and every town started competing to encourage their young people to go to university and they gave bright students all possible financial and moral support. They attached so much importance to university education that every household wanted to produce a graduate.

This development contributed to the growing demand for university education in Turkey. The state was under pressure from the public to provide more places. It also needed to provide more places to meet the demands of the developing economy. A major expansion was therefore decided upon and plans were made to create new universities throughout the country. For a long time many people had complained of

the lack of educational provision in certain parts of the country, particularly in the east, and the government now sought to respond to regional demands. At the same time they wanted to take the opportunity to bring universities under tighter state control. Up to this time universities had cherished their autonomy as a means of preventing state interference in their affairs, and most academics were happy to remain in the biggest cities, relatively well paid and enjoying a pleasant social life with the additional advantage of being able to teach in neighbouring universities for extra money. These academic posts were greatly sought after because they also offered opportunities to travel abroad for conferences and research, so they attracted well qualified candidates.

The government, however, had reached the conclusion that autonomy had been abused and academics had been unresponsive to the nation's real needs while allowing universities to become hotbeds of political discontent. The widespread anarchy that had affected higher education for some years gave the government a good excuse to introduce the far-reaching changes that it considered necessary.

The instrument chosen both for the expansion and the tighter control of higher education was YÖK. Its introduction spelt the end of the autonomy that had been enjoyed by academics up to then.

YÖK, the Higher Education Council established in 1981, promptly started to reshape and unify the higher education sector and exercising control over everything from appointments to curricula. It

was not difficult to justify the expansion of universities as a response to student demand, or the change from elite to mass higher education as a result of social, political and economical pressure. The opening of the new universities throughout the country increased the student capacity and also broke the previous elitist domination of the metropolitan universities.

However, as was shown in Chapter 6, there were teething troubles. Some of the new universities were not properly planned or organized and in the rapid nature of the expansion academic goals and main purposes of universities were sometimes neglected while these institutions were endeavouring to respond to the huge demand for student places. The sudden increase in the number of universities inevitably resulted in significant staff shortages and many posts were filled with poorly qualified staff thus lowering the standard of education on offer and harming the reputation of academic staff in general, the qualified along with the unqualified. This development, combined with the general lowering of academic salaries, reduced the attraction of academic employment, so the quality of applicants declined.

Academics also disliked the changes in their status that led to them being treated as if they were civil servants, particularly as this affected their pockets. At the same time they lost public esteem as a result of the unrest and anarchy in the country which was blamed on them by the military and the civil governments. Furthermore, many academics in the established universities resented the requirement to

spend periods in the provinces, which they regarded as a punishment; up until 1986 academics who were not prepared to move were denied promotion. By introducing mid-term tests and increasing the examination load in general YÖK placed still further burdens on academic shoulders; staff members now have difficulty in covering the curriculum as well as preparing and evaluating these tests. On top of this, a good research record became a requirement for promotion. The academics who were working under the primitive conditions found the situation difficult as they had no time or place to do research. In many instances, research became a concept but not reality for them.

Nevertheless, adjustments have been made. As the interviews and answers to the questionnaires showed, academics have slowly accepted their new position; in the provincial towns becoming more respected by the public on account of their enhanced status (as university staff instead of mere school teachers as they had were previously) while in the big cities there are now so many university teachers that no-one takes any notice of them and now that they cannot earn extra money for teaching in other institutions they are facing economic hardship and are no longer part of the privileged elite. They feel that if this image is to be changed academic staff should have their autonomy restored and their importance to the country should be recognised by higher salaries. Nevertheless most academics now accept that to gain promotion they must take up the challenge and go to the provincial universities, which as they refused to do in the 1970s. However some

universities still defend their elite status and their academics see themselves as different from those in the provincial universities.

Another most interesting result of the research was that academics showed their main concern was about their own position since 1981. They discussed the law and their rights but hardly any academic made any reference to the students' situation today or how students should be taught. Clearly for the academics the importance of academic freedom and autonomy lay in the rights these bestowed upon them.

Student attitudes have changed considerably since 1980. Their previous preoccupation with politics seems to have evaporated, they are no longer interested in the country's political affairs. Few are even interested in having a union to look after their own affairs. Under the YÖK system students are under strict control, a constant police presence prevents any political activity and the requirement to attend lectures and prepare for the numerous examinations combine to make them shy away from Turkey's political problems and turn their attention instead (if they have any interest at all in politics) to global issues such as the environment. Others concern themselves with the outward trappings of Western life such as the latest fashions.

The huge increase in student numbers has created many new institutions popularly referred to as *'temelsiz üniversiteler'* (universities without foundations), since they lack the level of qualified staffing and facilities to merit the description of a university. Enormous efforts are being made to improve the situation, but this cannot be

done without financial support from the government and the government has had to cut back on spending because of the parlous state of the country's economy.

The students themselves show little enthusiasm for what their university education offers them. They merely want a diploma, not the knowledge or skills it should represent. One reason for their poor motivation may be the desperate employment situation. With no assurance of any job, the students cannot grasp the importance or joy of learning for its own sake and do not see the advantage of the skills they could acquire; they simply want the piece of paper that declares they are university graduates and therefore eligible to compete in the employment market.

Job prospects for graduates from the new universities far worse than for those from the older institutions. A degree from a provincial university does not open up immediate prospects of work. In the absence of agreed inter-university examinations or standards, employers may conclude that high marks from a provincial university may not actually count for so much as moderate marks from one of the older universities whose students were of higher calibre to start with and have had the benefit of better teaching throughout their course. Many graduates from provincial universities are therefore obliged to settle for less well paid work than would previously have been considered normal for university graduates. As the questionnaire showed, only 55% of the university students surveyed thought that they

would get a job after graduation and only 25% of them thought they had a chance of finding a suitable job after graduation.

With that in mind, it is not perhaps surprising that the questionnaire results also showed that the motivation for university study was more social than financial. 48% of university students said their reason for coming to university was to have a better place in society, whereas only 31% had financial motives. In Turkish society, even amongst youth, wealth without a university degree is not considered as impressive as having a degree as the degree testifies to their place in society. So a degree in Turkey has more social than economic value.

So the demand for university places continues to outpace provision, despite the huge increases that have already been made. There are still not enough places to cater for the demand, especially in certain courses. (In 1994, the number of candidates was 1,192,000; 90,000 were admitted to vocational higher education colleges and 40,000 were able to start the usual degree courses lasting four or more years, and 250,000 accepted Open University places.)

The university entrance test, which was instituted on a nation-wide basis in 1974, became a two-stage test in 1981, but does not allocate students according to their actual interests and abilities. Most students go to special preparatory courses to improve their chances in the entrance examinations. Naturally, that gives advantages to those candidates who can afford to pay for such courses. As Brown and Scase

found in the United Kingdom, so, too, in Turkey, the financially better-off get better educational opportunities:

> Success in the education system and the labour market depends upon access to significant financial resources to buy educational advantages at all levels of the system, from preschool to university.(2)

Students in Turkey select from the courses and universities for which they are eligible without the benefit of interview or advice from the universities concerned, so may find themselves on inappropriate courses at universities they dislike. Often they do not know their real capabilities. The centralized university entrance and placement exams may only reflect the students ability to memorize and reproduce facts rather than ability to use knowledge creatively. Nor does the system trust or allow universities to choose their own students. The selection method may be perceived as fair, cheap, practical and less open to abuse and fraudulence but it makes student choice meaningless and may also give students the impression that decisions concerning their future are invalid since they are treated as numbers not as individuals. So, at the age of eighteen chance may determine whether a student embarks on a course for hotel management, medicine or engineering; the individual's preferences are irrelevant. This will remain the case so long as the secondary education system remains so broad and its results are considered so unimportant and while applicants and universities have no freedom to select.

In principle, provincial universities are important for the development of their regions. In practice, however, the regional universities seem unable to meet the required standards and earn the approval of employers. Indeed, many of them, through failure to achieve high enough standards and offer an example of high quality, are in danger of becoming simply an extension of secondary schools. In many instances they provide a platform for regional politics and that may tempt governments to exploit them for electoral advantage. It would now seem highly desirable for the state to stop establishing new ones and instead try to develop the existing ones.

The way in which the new provincial universities were established and staffed was the subject of fierce criticism. In particular, the 'rotation system' under which the older universities had to provide qualified staff for provincial universities caused intense resentment on the grounds that it gave scope for favouritism, promotion and punishment on non-academic criteria. Although the developed universities are still overcrowded, most academics remain pessimistic about provincial universities, complaining that these institutions have become dominated by nationalists and Islamists. (Though it should be noted that provincial universities now appoint new staff from their own graduates and they have an opportunity to send their staff to western countries to do research.)

Despite these negative criticism coming from the academics, students and media, YÖK has succeeded in its aims of centralization. It has made new appointments, exercised control over the curriculum, and

research, and demanded publication as a requirement for promotion but has insisted upon coordination.

Although academics are still critical of the centralized council, the system has provided an opportunity to widen educational access and break down elitism in Turkish higher education. At the same time the unified curriculum, especially in the social sciences, has been used by the council as a means of control and has damaged academic freedom.

One of the underlying aims of YÖK was to prevent a recurrence of the violent situation on university campuses of the 1970s. The absence of violence today indicates that so far this aim has been achieved.

YÖK's constitutional position as an institution that is inviolate has created a number of difficulties for the council itself and made it hard to introduce improvements without bitter controversy. Many academics urge that YÖK should be abolished since it has now fulfilled its mission and academic freedom cannot be restored under its political administration. However the YÖK system still exists in 1995, though with slightly reduced powers and there is a tendency towards more freedom and administrative participation in the expanding universities. Many critics feel that YÖK should become an authority to plan manpower and organize the coordination between the universities and the government. But others express the view that as social, economic and the political conditions vary so much from region to region there is a strong case for a centralized co-ordinating body, especially as there is a perceived danger that if provincial

universities were not subject to such control they could become embroiled in local politics. Fears are also expressed that the system as it has developed has given university rectors too much power that they can use to the detriment of academics.

Developments in the next few years will have a profound effect upon the universities and academics who work in them. With new universities now bringing the total number of universities in Turkey up to 57 in 1994, it is a major problem for the government to make these all viable institutions meeting satisfactorily the mass higher education needs of this rapidly developing country. Since the main aim of the higher education institutions in Turkey is to serve the public by meeting the country's needs, the question of autonomy cannot be separated from the general question of democracy in the country. It is too early to say whether YÖK's contribution represents a good model.

As has been shown, the closure of the Halkevis left a void in adult education provision. The universities themselves do not attempt to fill that void. Although the Open University offers a number of two or four-year courses to suitably qualified applicants (who must be lise graduates) it does not cater for the large number of mature students who cannot meet the entrance standards.

The need for wider educational provision is particularly acute in Turkey whose population is growing faster than the country is developing. In such circumstances human resources are of vital

importance to the nation's well-being and have to be given every opportunity to make the fullest possible contribution. In this context education, especially higher education, should be seen as a means of increasing the nation's prosperity and national security. However the process must begin at lower levels of education. It should start by extending compulsory schooling to a total of eight years rather than the present five. The subsequent provision of secondary and vocational education should have more regard to employment prospects and provincial universities should not ignore the special vocational opportunities in their own regions, for example, forestry and fisheries in the Black Sea region, rather than all of them attempting to duplicate the general courses, such as international politics, medicine and law that are available in the main universities.

Changing the nature of the provision in this way would clearly indicate that higher education in Turkey was considered directly relevant to the country's needs and not being used as largely as a means of concealing what would otherwise be unemployment among the young. It would represent a better use of the financial investment in the higher education sector.

At the same time, it has been demonstrated that since YÖK was established, the essential idea of universities as places where people think deeply and freely that has received less emphasis than their role as purveyors of modern science and technology. If these universities are to enjoy parity of esteem with their counterparts in

the West, democratic traditions within in them will need to be strengthened. The present complaints about the excessive power of rectors show that this aspect needs serious consideration.

The complaints made by university staff go well beyond questions of democratic practice. Unfortunately, the criticisms they level at the system suggest that their prime concern is with their salaries. They exhibit a disturbing lack of enthusiasm for the vocation of university teaching. Before YÖK they took their privileged position for granted and made little effort to merit it. Since YÖK they have failed to accept that that their job is not just teaching but passing on to a new generation an eagerness to learn as well as simply the knowledge to cope in the employment market. Naturally, financial restraints do not permit Turkish universities to make available the same range of courses as are offered in the developed world. Turkish academics are prone to deplore that fact fruitlessly rather than ensure they are making the fullest and best use of the facilities they do have.

The main message implicit in the research findings of this thesis is simple: there should be some central control of university policy but detailed control over administration, curricula and staffing should be left to the universities themselves. The constitutional articles relating to higher education are proving harmful to the development of the universities as institutions that can make valuable individual contributions to Turkey's well-being. The present system is stifling initiative as well as academic freedom. The ban on research into

'harmful subjects' conflicts with the spirit of free enquiry that is accepted as normal in many universities in the West.

It is also necessary to remember that Turkish universities have a key role in helping to promote democratic traditions in Turkey. Turkish democracy has been a delicate plant since it was first introduced. The influence of the education system especially the higher education system (both the Higher Education Law and the Higher Education Council) upon the country's democracy has so far been negative. This research has shown that in Turkey universities do not measure up to the definition of a university given by Tasker & Packham as an institution that:

> ... has a moral purpose in the sense of upholding certain standards of truth, freedom and democracy. These may best be arrived at through rational debate and practice of intellectual rigour in addressing questions which are of major significance to society. The university has the responsibility of extending these values to society at large. (3)

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Research for this thesis has indicated a number of related fields where useful research could be pursued.

The role and working of Turkey's Open University is a fruitful field. It is regarded variously as a 'dumping ground' or a 'lifeboat'. Governments can purport to meet student demand by sub-standard

provision and students themselves, though conscious of their unequal treatment, can at least get a degree - though the value of that degree is, to say the least, questionable.

The desirability of creating alternatives to universities for young people, either in direct employment or in more specialised institutions merits close study. It is apparent that the present system whereby everyone who possibly can clamours to go to university is a misuse of resources. The possibilities of diverting some of that demand into more useful channels deserves exploration.

Our research has pointed to the shortcomings of the secondary stage of education in Turkey. A careful analysis of these shortcomings would be an important step towards improving the system.

The question of student selection for university deserves review. This year one and a half million applicants are taking the tests. Some 70 per cent or 80 per cent of these candidates attend special preparatory courses. The university entrance 'industry' has therefore become big business. The implications of this development, in financial, social and psychological terms, are another area deserving research.

Planning procedures, particularly for regional universities, have appeared haphazard. The educational, political, industrial and social factors affecting issues such as the location of new universities offer further topics for study.

Relationships between universities - rivalries as well as co-operative measures - have emerged as a controversial issue in Turkey. This subject is another that has so far not been examined with sufficient rigour.

At a more philosophical level, the nature of academic freedom in Turkey is a main subject of debate that would benefit from a firmer foundation of research. Too often the debate is obscured by vague references to autonomy and other such keywords that are ill-defined and insufficiently understood. The bounds of that freedom are also ill-defined and seldom considered to extend to students as well as staff.

For social anthropologists and sociologists the rapid expansion of higher education in Turkey gives opportunities to study the cultural and social differences at various levels in the different institutions.

The recent political context in which student activities take place is a topic that offers scope for comparison with previous periods and also for comparative studies involving other countries to see what patterns emerge and what generalisations may be valid.

* * *

It is hoped that the present thesis will prove a useful starting point for others wishing to take up any of these suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER EIGHT - REFERENCES

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2. Brown & Scase (1994), Higher Education and Corporate Realities: Class, Culture and the Decline, p.172
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE 1981 HIGHER EDUCATION LAW NO 2547

PART ONE

THE AIM AND SCOPE OF THE LAW AND DEFINITION

Aims:

ARTICLE 1. The aim of this law is to define the goals pertaining the higher education and to establish principles related to functioning, duty, competence, and responsibilities in connection with education, research, publication, teaching staff, students and other personnel as well as the institutions of higher education and their governing bodies.

Scope:

ARTICLE 2. This law covers all institutions of higher education, basic principles related to their activities as well as their governing bodies.

Matters within the institutions of higher education of the Turkish Armed Forces and Security Forces are subject to separate laws.

Definitions:

ARTICLE 3. The concepts and terms used in this law for the purposes of this law, are defined as follows:

a. Higher Education: In the national education system, this is the education that follows secondary and the total of education at each stage consisting of at least four semesters.

b. Governing Bodies: They are the Higher Education Council and the Inter-university Board.

c. The Institutions of Higher Education: They are the Universities, Faculties, Institutes and Schools of Higher Education.

d. The University: It is a higher education institution possessing academic autonomy and legal personality, conducting high-level education, scientific research and publication; it is made up of faculties, institutes, schools of higher education and similar organizations and units.

e. The Faculty: It is a higher education institution conducting high-level education, scientific research and publications; institutes, schools of higher education and similar organizations may be attached to it.

f. The Institute: It is an institution in Universities and in Faculties which is concerned with graduate study, scientific research and applied work in in more than one related scientific area.

g. The School of Higher Education: It is an institution of higher education mainly concerned with giving instruction for a specific vocation.

h. The Department: It is the unit of Faculty or of a School of Higher Education giving instruction, and carrying out research; it embraces similar or related areas of the sciences or arts, forming a whole in aim, scope and character.

i. Teaching Faculty Members: They include teaching staff members as well as ancillary staff.

j. Teaching Staff Members: They are Professors, Doçents (Associate Professors) and Assistant Doçents (Assistant Professors) of the institute of higher education.

(1) Professors: A teaching staff member of the highest academic order.

(2) Doçent (Associate Professor): A teaching staff member who has successfully fulfilled requirements of the Inter-university Board to qualify as a Doçent.

(3) Assistant Doçent (Assistant Professor): First stage of teaching staff membership who has received a doctorate, or qualified as a specialist in a medical field, or received a certificate of competence in one of the areas of the fine arts.

k. Ancillary Staff: These include research assistants, foreign language instructors, specialists, translators and planners of education as well as instructors for certain specialized topics. Ancillary staff are appointed for a specific period of time.

ARTICLE 4. The aim of higher education

a. To educate students so that they

(1) will be loyal to ATATÜRK nationalism and to ATATÜRK's reforms and principles,

(2) will be in accord with national, ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish Nation and conscious of dignity of being Turk,

(3) will put the common good above their own personal interests and have full devotion for family, country and nation,

(4) will be fully conscious of their duties and responsibilities towards their country and will act accordingly,

(5) will have free thought, a liberal vision of world affairs and respect for human rights,

(6) will develop in a balanced way, physically, mentally, spiritually and emotionally,

(7) will prove to be good citizens contributing to the country's welfare and at the same time acquire the necessary skills for their future vocations.

b. To enhance the welfare of the Turkish State as a whole, conducive to national and territorial indivisibility; to implement programmes contributing to and expediting the economic, social and cultural development of the country; and to induce students to be constructive, creative and merited partners of contemporary civilization.

c. As higher educational institutions, to carry out work and research of high academic level, to promote knowledge and technology, to disseminate scientific data, to assist progress and development at the national level and, through cooperation with national and international institutions, to become a recognized member within the world of science and thus to contribute to universal and contemporary progress.

Basic Principles:

ARTICLE 5. The Higher Education is organised, planned, programmed in accordance with following "Basic Principles":

a. To ensure that students develop sense of duty in line with ATATÜRK's reforms and principles, loyal to ATATÜRK nationalism.

b. National culture integrated with universal culture, will be developed and fostered in keeping with Turkish mores and traditions so that the students develop a strong sense of national unity and solidarity.

c. The unity of basic principles within the educational system is to be achieved with due regard to the aims and specific requirements of various higher educational institutions.

d. Short and long term plans and programs are to be devised on the basis of scientific and technological principles and in accordance with the national and regional needs and will be regularly reviewed.

e. Measures are to be taken to secure equality of opportunity in higher education.

f. New Universities as well as new faculties, Institutes, and Schools of higher Education within universities are established by law upon the recommendation or proposal of the Higher Education Council in accordance with the principles and goals of the national development plans and within the context of higher education planing.

g. Vocational Schools of higher education attached to ministries are founded by a decree of the Council of Ministers on the basis of principles set forth by the Higher Education Council.

h. Developing institutions of higher education; improving their efficiency; increasing their numbers so as to cover the whole country; training teaching staff in the country and abroad, and their proper assignment; keeping a balance between the elements of production, manpower and education; distribution of resources and specialised manpower and education; meeting the national and the local needs and specific requirements of the fields of practice in accordance with the principles and aims of the national education policy and the national developments plans; are planned and achieved in a manner to cover formal and informal, continuous and adult education.

i. In the course of education in the institution of higher education, ATATÜRK's principles and history of Turkish Reforms, the Turkish Language and a foreign language are all compulsory courses. In addition, a course in physical education or in one of the fine arts shall be included in the curriculum.

GOVERNING BODIES

ARTICLE 6.

a. The Higher Education Council is an organization which controls all higher education, directs the activities of the Institution of Higher Education, vested in the context of duties and powers given by this law, with autonomy and public legal personality and is in permanent function.To the Higher Education Council are attached the Higher Education Supervision Board and the Student Selection and Placement Centre together with the relevant planning, research, development, evaluation, budget investment and coordination units.

b. The Higher Education Council consist of:

(1) Eight members elected by the Head of State,preferably from among former Rectors.

(2) Six members selected by the Council of Ministers from outside the universities, from among distinguished. High-ranking civil servants, either active or retired.

(3) One member selected by the Chief of General Staff from among its own personnel,

(4) Two members selected by the Ministry of National Education from among its own members of staff,

(5) Eight faculty members selected by the inter-university Board from among those outside the Council and having at least twenty-five years of service in academic fields.

c. The tenure of Council membership(with the exception of the member from the General Staff) is eight years. Every two years,

one fourth of the membership is renewed....The term of the members selected by the Chief of General Staff is two years...

d. The salary scales of the members of the Higher Education Council are established by the Council of Ministers provided that they do not exceed twice the amount of the monthly payment (including supplementary indicator, auxiliary payment and compensation) of the highest-ranking civil servant in the Civil Servants Law No:657. Retired Persons selected to membership will continue to receive their pensions.

e. The members of the Higher Education Council are not allowed to have any employment in a public or private organization..

The Functions of Higher Education Councils:

ARTICLE 7. The functions of Higher Education Councils are as follows:

a. To prepare short and long-term plans for the establishment and development and realization of educational activities of the higher educational institutions and to see to the training of the teaching staff,locally and abroad,according to the aims,goals and the principles set down in this law, and to supervise efficiently the resources allocated to universities within the framework of these plans and programmes.

b. To promote continual and harmonious cooperation and coordination between the Institutions of Higher Education, aiming at unification and integration, in accordance with the aims, principles and target specified in this law.

c. To determine to extent of growth compatible with the running of the universities at maximum efficiency and the taking of such measures as summer courses, night courses and two shift education.

d. In accordance with the principles and targets of the national development plans and in the context of higher education planning:

(1) To present to the Ministry of National education proposals or views on the establishment, and, if necessary, unification of newly established universities,

(2) To make decisions directly or on the basis of proposals made by universities concerning the opening Faculties, Institutes and School of Higher Education within a university, their unification or close-down, and to convey the above decisions to the Ministry of National Education for enactment in due course,

(3) To study the aims and basis of higher educational institutions to be established by ministries and to present opinions to the component authorities,

e. To specify, after taking into consideration the views of the Inter-university Board, the fundamentals related to the horizontal and vertical transition of students in the institutions of higher education and the principles whereby graduates of schools of higher education continue their studies at a higher level,

f. To fix, in a balanced ratio, the positions of professors, docents, and assistant docents in universities on the basis of requirements, education programmes, characteristic of the branches of learning, research activities, field of application, premises, materials and equipment and similar facilities and the number of students of the universities and other related matters,

g. To examine and evaluate the activity reports submitted annually by the universities; to pinpoint the highly successful and those considered to be inadequate and to take necessary measures,

h. To decide on the maximum yearly student intake into each academic programme after examining the proposals of the universities on this question and the further to determine the principles whereby the selection and admission of students be carried out with a view to manpower planning, the capacity of the institutions and the students interests and skills based on the oriented principles of secondary education.

i. To take measures to realize equality of the opportunity and possibility in the institutions of higher education and during admission,

j. To arrive at a decision in conjunction with the proposals of higher education institutions concerning the fees to be charged to the students in each academic year,

k. To review the budgets prepared by the Governing Bodies and Universities in order to finalize them before submitting to the Ministry of National Education,

l. To follow up and decide on the disciplinary action of the rectors,

m. To fulfil other obligations assigned to it by this law.

The Higher Education Supervision Committee:

Article 8. The Higher Education Supervision Committee is an organization, which on behalf of the Higher Education Council supervises and controls the universities together with the units attached to them and teaching staff
and their activities.

Duties of the Higher Education Supervision Committee:

ARTICLE 9. The duties of the Higher Education Supervision Committee are as follows:

a. To supervise, on behalf of the Higher Education Council, the education and the other activities in universities as regards their conformity with the aims and main principles specified in this law and with the principles to be laid down by the Higher Education Council,

b. To request written or verbal information from university administrators when it is deemed necessary,

c. To carry out disciplinary investigation concerning rectors if requested by the Higher Education Council,

d. To prepare a comprehensive report based on investigations of any acts or incidents which, according to general provisions entail legal proceedings, or any disciplinary action. The report will be presented to the president of the Higher Education Council together with the committee's recommendations.

e. To fulfil other obligations assigned by this law.

The Student Selection and Placement Centre:

ARTICLE 10. Its duty, organization and functions:

a. The Student Selection and Placement Centre determines, in the context of fundamentals established by the Higher Education Council, the examination principles of the students to be admitted to the institutions of higher education, it prepares the tests, administers them, evaluates them on the basis of their results and principles determined by the Higher Education Council and in the light of student demands, effects the placement of student candidates in universities and other higher educational institutions, taking into account, as it does so, the students' own preferences, and carries out research related to these activities.

b. The student candidates pay a registration and examination fee for the selection and the placement examination. These fees are to be collected in the Higher Education Council Student Selection and Placement Fund which is to be formed...This fund to be used primarily for selection and placement services...

Inter-university Board:

ARTICLE 11.

a. Its organization and functions:

The Inter-university Board consists of the university rectors, a professor selected by chief of General Staff from the Armed Forces appointed for a period of four years and one professor from each university selected by their senates for a period of four years.

The rectors act as the Chairman of the Inter-university Board in turn and consecutively for a term of one year, in the order of the foundation of their universities in the period of the Republic....

b. Duties:

The inter-university board is an academic organ with the following duties:

(1) To coordinate, within the capacity of higher education planning, the universities teaching, scientific research and publication activities, to evaluate practical work and to make recommendations to the Higher Education Council and to universities,

(2) To propose measures to meet the needs of universities for academic staff members, bearing in mind organization and vacant posts and in line with the Higher Education Council's decisions,

(3) To prepare regulations on education, scientific research and publication activities concerning all universities or to express views on these matters,

(4) To ensure coordination between principles and terms related to education in faculties of the same or similar characteristics or in other institutions of higher education attached to the universities or faculties,

(5) To establish the principles as regards doctoral work and to evaluate the doctoral degrees and the academic titles of doçent and professor received abroad,

(6) To arrange the main requirements for the Doçent examinations and evaluate the publications and the research work of Doçent candidates, according to the relevant regulations, and to select the juries,

(7) To fulfil other obligations assigned by this law.

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Duties of the Institutions of Higher Education

ARTICLE 12. In accordance with the aims and basic principles of this law, the duties of the institutions of higher education are as follows:

a. To carry out teaching duties at various levels, undertake scientific research, to make publications and to act in the capacity of consultant, in full accordance with the principles and objectives of the development plans and needs of society, with regard to the conditions of modern societies and contemporary education,

b. Utilizing its own specialist abilities and material resources in a rational, productive and economic way, to train sufficient manpower in the required fields to meet the needs of the country; and this shall be in line with the national education policy and principles and objectives of development plans and programmes as prepared by the Higher Education Council,

c. To spread, whether verbally, in writing or by other means, scientific data and the scholarly findings such as might be expected to raise the standard of living of Turkish society and enlighten the public in general,

d. To train the people, especially in the fields of industrialisation, and the modernization of agriculture, through formal, informal, continuous and adult education,

e. To carry out research and educational activities pertaining to the country's scientific, cultural, social and economic progress and development, and through cooperation with other organizations to encourage public organizations to contribute to such activities,

f. To take measures that will contribute to the institutions responsible for formal, informal, continuous, widespread, constant and adult education in mobilizing literacy campaigns,

g. To contribute in the training and development of agricultural and industrial workers, to modernize services in the field of industry, agriculture and health, to prepare and implement programmes that will encourage productivity, and to participate in such activities as the solution of environmental problems,

h. To develop, apply and disseminate the educational technology,

i. To develop principles of education with a view to a more practical approach to higher education, to set up revolving funds and operate them productively and to take necessary measures for the development of these activities.

UNIVERSITY ORGANS

Rector:

ARTICLE 13.

a. Appointment: The Rector, who is the representative of s university's legal personality, is appointed for a period of a five years by the Head of State from among the four candidates, two of whom are professors to be nominated by the Higher Education Council. In case no nominee is appointed and no new candidate is nominated within

two weeks, the appointment is made directly by the Head of State. On expiration of his term of office a rector may be reappointed.

The Rector may select up to three people from among the university's salaried professors to act as his assistants.

The Rectors assistants are appointed by the Rector for a period of five years.....

b. His duties, powers and responsibilities:

(1) To preside over university boards, to implement the resolutions of the governing bodies of higher education, review and decide on the proposals of university boards and to ensure the smooth running among organization attached to universities,

(2) At the end of each academic year, to report to the Inter-university Board on the university's academic activities as regards tuition, scientific research and publication,

(3) After having accepted the proposals of the attached bodies and having consulted the Senate and the Administrative Board of the University, to prepare the investment programmes, budget and personnel requirements of the University,

(4) To change, when he deems necessary, the service location of the teaching staff and other personnel in organizations and unit comprising the university or to delegate new duties to them,

(5) To supervise and control the units of the university and personnel at every level,

(6) To carry out other duties assigned by this law.

The Rector is invested with final authority and responsibility for the rational use and development of the educational capacity of a university and its attached organizations, for providing the students with essential social services, for taking security measures whenever necessary, for the planning and implementation of instruction, scientific research and publications in accordance with the principles and objectives of the national development plans, also for the supervision of academic and administrative duties, for the devolution of these duties to the bodies below, and for the supervision and review of the results of this policy.

The Senate:

ARTICLE 14.

a. Its formation and functions: Under the chairmanship of the Rector, the Senate consist of the Rector's assistant, the Deans for each faculty, a faculty member elected for a term of three years by the respective faculty board and Directors of the institutes and

schools of higher education attached to the office of the Rector
The Senate meets at least twice year, once at the beginning and once at the end of each academic year.
When he deems necessary, the Rector calls the senate for a meeting.

b. Its duties: The Senate is the university's academic organ with the following functions:

(1) To decide on the principles relating to the university's educational programmes, scientific research and publication activities,

(2) To prepare crafts of laws and regulations concerning the university as a whole or to express its views there of,

(3) To prepare regulations concerning the university or its attached units to take effect upon publication in the Official Gazette following approval by the rector,

(4) To examine and decide on the university's annual academic programme and calendar,

(5) To award honorary academic titles (no examination being required) on the recommendations of the Faculty Board,

(6) To intervene in the case of objections raised against decisions of the Faculty Boards and the Boards of Institutions and Schools of Higher Education attached to the office of the Rector,

(7) To elect the members of the University Administrative Committee,

(8) To perform other duties assigned by this law.

The University Administrative Committee:

ARTICLE 15.

a. Its formation and functions: Under the chairmanship of the Rector, the University Administrative Committee consists of the Deans and three professors to be selected by the Senate for a period of four years. The professors shall represent various fields in the university....

b. Its functions: The University Administrative Committee is an organ that assists the Rector in his administrative duties...

FACULTY ORGANS
Dean:

ARTICLE 16.

Appointment: The Dean, who is the representative of a Faculty and its units, is selected by the Higher Education Council from among three full-time professors nominated by the Rector, and is appointed by normal procedure. When his term of office expires a Dean may be reappointed...
The Dean is directly responsible to the Rector for the rational utilization and improvement of the educational potentialities of the Faculty and its attached units, form taking security measures when necessary, for the provision of needed social services to the students, for the orderly implementation of educational programmes, scientific research and publication activities, for the smooth running and efficiency of the work within the responsibility of the Dean.

Faculty Board:

ARTICLE 17.

a. Its formation and functions: Under the chairmanship of the Dean, the Faculty Board is made up of the heads of departments together with the directors of institutes and schools of higher education, attached to the faculty if any, and three Professors to be selected from among the professors of the faculty for three years, two Docents(Associate Professors) and one Assistant Doçent(Assistant Professor) selected in the same manner and for the same term.

b. Its functions: The Faculty Board is an academic organ with the following duties:

(1) To decide on the educational programme, scientific research and publication activities of the faculty and the main principles there of, as well as the plans, programmes and academic calendar,
(2) To elect members of the Faculty Administrative Committee,
(3) To perform other duties assigned by this law.

Faculty Administrative Committee:

ARTICLE 18.

a. Its formations and functions: Under the chairmanship of the Dean , the Faculty Administrative Committee consists of three professors, two docents (Associate professor) and two Assistant Docents (Assistant professor) all whom are chosen by the Faculty Board for a period of three years.

INSTITUTES

Organs:

ARTICLE 19. The organ of the institutes are the Institutes Director, the Institute Board and the Institute Administrative Committee.
At the nomination of the Faculty Dean, the Institute Director is appointed by the Rector for three years. Where institutes are directly attached to the office of the Rector, the appointment is made directly by the Rector...
Within the framework of the Institute, the Institute Director performs the duties assigned to Deans by this law.

SCHOOLS OF HIGHER EDUCATION
Organs:

ARTICLE 20. The organs of the schools of higher education are the Directors of schools of higher education, their Boards and Administrative Committees.
The Director of school of higher education is appointed by the Rector for a period of three years upon nomination by the respective faculty dean. In schools of higher education, attached to the office of the Rector, appointment is made directly by the Rector.
Within the framework of the schools of higher education, the Director performs the duties assigned to the Deans by this law.

Department:

ARTICLE 21. In a faculty or in a school of higher education, there cannot be more than one department engaged in the same or similar education.
The Department is administered by the Head of the Department...
The Head of the Department is responsible for education and research at every level in the Department and for the orderly and productive running of all activities within the department.

TEACHING FACULTY MEMBERS

The Duties of the Teaching Staff

ARTICLE 22

a. To carry out and have carried out education and applied work at the pre-licence, (pre-baccalaureate), licence(baccalaureate) and post-graduate levels in the institutions of higher education in line with the purpose and objectives of this law, to direct project preparations and seminars.

b. To undertake scientific and scholarly research for publication in the institutions of higher education,

c. In accordance with a programme arranged by the head of the related unit, to set aside certain days for the advise and

guidance of students, helping them as needed and directing them in line with the aims and basic principles of this law.

Appointment to Assistant Docentship (Assistant Professorship):

ARTICLE 23

a. A vacancy for an Assistant Doçent(Assistant Professor) position in a unit of the university is advertised by the rectorate and applications are invited.

The appointment made by the Rector.

The Assistant Doçents (Assistant Professors) may be appointed to any one university no more than three times, each time for a term of two years.

b. Prerequisites for the appointment of Assistant Docents (Assistant Professor):

(1) To have acquired a doctorate or specialist status in medicine,

(2)To pass the foreign language examination,

c. A candidate for an Assistant Doçent(Assistant Professor) position shall not apply to the university that awarded him his doctorate, or specialist status in medicine, or proficiency in a given branch of fine arts, until at least three years have elapsed.

Doçent(Associate Professorship) Examinations:

ARTICLE 24

a. The Doçent(Associate Professorship) examinations are held once a year by the Inter-university Board.

b. In order to enter the Doçent examinations, the following conditions are necessary:

(1) After receiving a graduate diploma, to have gained a doctorate degree, specialization in medicine, or proficiency in certain branches of fine arts to be determined by the Higher Education Council at the proposal of the Inter-university Board,

(2) To have undertaken original scientific research and publications,

(3) To have passed a foreign language examination to be prepared by the Inter-university Board on the basis of a central system,

(4) To be successful in the demonstration lecture.

Appointment to Doçent(Associate Professorship):

ARTICLE 25.

a. When there is a vacancy for a Doçent in a university unit, this is advertised by the office of the rector.

b. Requirements for appointment to Doçent(Associate Professorship):

(1) To have received the title of Doçent

(2) To have worked as Assistant Doçent(Assistant Professor) in institution of higher education for at least three years.

Promotion and Appointment to Professorship:

ARTICLE 26.

a. To be promoted to professorship, it is necessary:

(1) To have worked in the relevant field of science for five years after receiving the title of Doçent(Associate Professor), at least two of them being in a university,

(2) To have done work of application and to have published research,original by international standards,

(3) To have been appointed to a cadre of professorship.

b. Appointment to Professorship cadre:
Doçents(Associate Professor) having the above qualifications and professors having at least three years of service in another university may be appointed to a vacant professorship cadre.

Those who worked as a Doçent(Associate Professor) in a university for at least three years may not apply for a vacant Professorship in the same university.

The maintaining of titles:

ARTICLE 29. Academic staff may not be deprived of the academic titles they have earned except the provision of this law.
Those leaving the teaching profession consequent on changing their jobs, retiring or resigning or being considered to have done so, may keep their titles. The titles of Professor, Doçent(Associate Professors) and Assistant Doçent(Assistant Professor) may only be used in places of work other than institutions of higher education if the bearer has completed at least two years in an institution of higher education after being granted the title.

Retirement Age:

ARTICLE 30. Academic staff members will retire, at the latest, at the age of 67.

Duties of Ancillary Staff:

ARTICLE 31. Ancillary Staff carry out the duties assigned by authorized organs, working in specific areas of instruction and education, research and application besides participating in

activities requiring special knowledge and specialization and in training and education planning.

Lecturers and Research Assistants

ARTICLE 32. In the event of where being no appointed teaching staff member for a course or in cases where expertise is needed to teach special subjects, Lecturers may be employed;and where assistance needed for research projects or experimental undertakings, research assistants shall be appointed on the proposal of the respective deans of faculties or the directors of the institutes and schools by the rector of the university.

Foreign Language Instructors, Specialist, Translators and Educational Planners:

ARTICLE 33. The appointment of Language Instructors, Technical Experts, Translators and Educational planners is made by the rector of the university, upon the proposal of the respective Deans of Faculties or Directors of Institutes or schools. The Deans and the Rectors have to consult the respective administrative committees, before making their proposals.

Foreign National Educational Employees:
ARTICLE 34. Teaching staff of foreign nationality, who are to be employed on a temporary basis at higher education institutions, are appointed by the rector in accordance with the recommendations of the university executive board following the proposals of the executive board of the relevant faculty or institute or school. The provisions as set down in this law regarding teaching duties for the permanent staff also hold for these foreign appointees.

The appointment as such of foreign nationals can be made upon the approval of the Ministries of the Interior and National Education, without being subject to the provision of Law 657 concerning Civil Servants, which requires a resolution on the part of the Cabinet.
Training of Teaching Faculty Members:

ARTICLE 35. To meet their own needs and those of other higher education institutions either newly established or yet to be established, higher education institutions either newly established or yet to be established, higher educations institutions are responsible for the training of their academic staff, at home or abroad, and in accordance with the principles and objectives of the Development Plan and also in accordance with the needs and principles set down by the Higher Education Council.

ACTIVITIES AND SUPERVISION

Working Principles:

ARTICLE 36

a. Professors and Docents(Associate Professors) fall into two groups, those employed on a full-time, permanent basis and those on a part-time one:

(1) Those employed on a permanent basis at the university: Professors and Docents of this category devote all their working time to activities relating to the university.
Except in the case of special duties set down in special laws, the academic staff of this category may not take on any work of any kind, paid or unpaid, official or private, outside the higher education institutions.

(2) Those employed on a part-time basis at the university: Those Professors and Docents, who are appointed for a period of two years at a stretch, are obliged to be present for at least twenty hours a week at the university. They are to undertake teaching duties, practical work and research under the direction of the Head of the Department.

b. Assistant Docents (Assistant Professors) may only be employed on a permanent basis in the university and in the units attached to it.

c. Teaching staff members, employed on a permanent basis , and salaried ancillary staff, are carried out such duties as those of teaching, research, practical and administrative work and whatever is assigned to them by the university organs. Their minimum working hours will correspond to those of Civil Servants.

d. The decision as to how much of the practical work, seminars and doctorate work either carried out or supervised by teaching faculty members is to be counted towards the total teaching hours rests with the Higher Education Council.

e. The weekly load of teaching work for lecturers and instructors employed at a university and at its attached organisations is to be determined by the Higher Education Council, with the recommendation that it should not less than 12 hours per week.

f. The work of teaching faculty members will be supervised by Heads of Departments, Directors of Institutes Schools, Deans and Rectors.

g. Rectors, Deans, Directors of Institutes and Schools are exempted from the requirements of the weekly teaching load. The weekly teaching load for Vice Rectors, Deans and Directors of Institutes and Schools and Heads of Departments is half the time specified above.

Practical Contributions of Universities:

ARTICLE 37. The request of people or organizations outside the institutions of higher education for scientific and academic expertise, project, research and similar services along with the medical examination and treatment of patients, and also laboratory tests and research related to them, either at the university or at the place of service, may be performed in accordance with the principles laid down by the University Executive Board. All Payments due from such services are entered as income into revolving Fund of the relevant higher education institution or of its attached organization.

Assignment to Public Organization:

ARTICLE 38. Upon the request of the concerned institution, and with the agreement of the relevant University Executive Board and also of the Higher Education Council, teaching faculty members, without loss of their acquired rights, and still benefiting from them at their own institutions, can temporarily be assigned to any such institutions or organizations as the Ministries, the Armed Forces, the Scientific and Technological Research Institute of Turkey, The Centre for Forensic Medicine, The Atomic Energy Commission, research and development centres and other public organizations.

Assignment at Home and Abroad:

ARTICLE 39. The travel expenses and the per diem allowances of the teaching faculty members who are assigned abroad on behalf of their institutions are paid in accordance with the general provision at the rate allowed to civil servants assigned abroad.

Should the teaching faculty members assigned abroad be awarded scholarships or receive any payments from a foreign institution, they will be on paid leave for the period they are assigned.

Inter-institutional Cooperation:

ARTICLE 40.

a. Should the teaching staff members of a higher education institute or the ancillary staff have a teaching load of less then is prescribed, the rector can assign them to teaching duties either in other departments of their own universities or in other higher education institutions in the same city. They are eligible for extra payment only if the weekly teaching load is then exceeded.

b. Teaching staff members may be asked to take up teaching duties at a university which has asked for such help. Following the approval of the rector he will be assigned to the Higher Education Council for a minimum period of one academic year if both he and the respective administrative committee agree. When a vacancy is being filled, priority will be given on the candidate who, all else being equal, has served for at least 5 years at a higher education institution in one of the developing regions of the country (This section has been abolished).

Procedures for meeting the needs for teaching staff Members:

ARTICLE 41.

a. All higher education institutions within the scope of this law will determine their own teaching staff needs for the coming academic year in accordance with the principles to be established by the Higher Education Council. Their report should be represented to the Higher Education Council by the end of january of the current year. In the month of April the Higher Education Council will clarify the situation and needs for teaching staff of all higher education institutions, already established.

b. To meet the needs of higher education institutions for faculty members, the Higher Education Council studies the distribution of faculty staff in the various discipline, to find out which universities are in position to spare faculty members without their education programmes being adversely affected.

Later , universities in need of additional teaching staff are notified of the numbers and qualifications of the potentially available staff. The available staff does not include those who have worked for a minimum of two years in accordance with Article 40(b), nor does not include Professors with at least eight years of service, or Rectors, Deans, Directors of institutes or schools of higher education.

The members in question are asked as to their willingness to go to the institutions where they are needed The positions not voluntary filled in this way will be filled by drawing of lots among them. The teaching staff drawing of lots of them. The teaching staff members thus assigned to the new posts will work there for two academic years. While retaining their posts and the rights arising out of personnel legislation, they will also benefit from any financial privileges pertaining to the area of their work.

Any teaching staff member, who, thus assigned to a post, refuses to take up duty there, shall be considered as having resigned. If such situation arises, and if the person in question still refuses to fulfil the requirements of the offer, he shall not be eligible to take up a teaching post in any other higher education institutions, nor may he(or she) be given a position in any public organization.

Academic Control within the Institutions:

ARTICLE 42. Academic control of teaching staff includes their activities pertaining to education, scientific research, publication, seminars, clinical and practical work.

PART SEVEN- EDUCATION AND STUDENTS

Education at License Level:

ARTICLE 43. Higher education for which a fee charged, is organized as follows in accordance with the aims and basic principles specified by this law:

a. Guidelines for education conducted according to the special objectives of individual units, within the higher education institutions and also diplomas granted based on these educational programmes, shall be defined in the regulations regarding education and examination to be prepared by each university.

b. In the universities where education is given in the same fields or branches of a discipline, the Higher Education Council, upon the recommendations of the Inter-university Board will regulate the education, methods, scope, teaching duration and the principles of evaluation within each academic year in order to establish a uniformity of expected standards as well as of rights and privileges.

c. Institution of higher education may use any kind of educational method, formal, informal and open.

DURATION OF EDUCATION:

ARTICLE 44.

a. Students of higher education studying a pre-license level are permitted one extra year, those studying at licence level two extra years, in addition to the normal duration specified by this law.
Students are required to finish their studies within the extra time thus allowed.
All first year courses must at the very latest be completed successfully by the end of the second academic year whether the system followed is one of passing the class or of passing in the individual courses.
Students who cannot meet the above requirements without any justifiable cause in conformity with the principles set down by the Higher Education Council or those who clearly will be unable to complete their studies within given time, shall be dismissed from the relevant education institution.

b. Students undertaking the education at post graduate level are allowed, in addition to the normal duration at a programme, extra time as follows:

(1) For those taking a master's degree, one semester,

(2) For those taking both a Master's and a Doctorate degree, three semesters,

(3) For those taking a Doctorate without having a Master's degree and for those working for the title of Specialist in a medical field, three semesters.

c. Students enrolled in higher education institutions to which this law is applicable, shall be required to attend courses. Those who, over two semesters, fail to attend courses for a total of more than 30 days, without any official excuse, shall lose the right

to take the examinations of that year, and it will be counted as if they have failed.On presenting an authorized medical certificate substantiating illness, a student may retain his right to take the examinations if he can make up for his absence even though it exceeds the period permitted.

Admission to Higher Education:

ARTICLE 45.

a. The right to take the entrance examination:

(1) Students who have earned the right to apply for admission to the education institutions shall be allowed to take the entrance examination on three separate occasions during the 6 years immediately their completion of secondary education,

(2) Students already enrolled in a higher education institution who so wish shall be granted one more right to enter the examination,

(3) Those who have been dismissed from higher education institutions under Articles 44 and 49 of this law, due to failing in a given course, shall be granted one more right to enter examination on condition that 6 years shall not have elapsed since their completion of secondary education and that they shall not have used their right to reenter the examination as specified in paragraph (2) above,

(4) Those who, upon graduation from higher education institution, wish to study in another branch, will be given two more rights to enter examination, without being subject to the restrictions of the above paragraphs.

b. In the selection of students to the higher education institutions, their academic performance during secondary education shall be determined by a method to be specified by the Student Selection and Placement Centre and this will be added as an extra point to the scores gained in the entrance examinations to higher education institutions.

Fees:

ARTICLE 46. The fees to be paid each year to the institutions of higher education are fixed and announced by the Higher Education Council, taking into consideration the character and duration of the various disciplines and also the recommendations of the higher education institutions.

Students pay one fifth of their education programme, including, where it is requisite, foreign language preparatory instruction. Students who wish to do so may borrow the money from the State, on the condition it will be paid back either in cash or in service.

The sum of the debt due, or the duration of compulsory service, is determined in relation to the total sum of the fees paid by the State on behalf of the student.

For those who attend a second institution of higher education after graduating from a first, will not be paid by the State.

Social Services:

ARTICLE 47. The Organization of Activities:

a. The institutions of higher education, in accordance with the plans and programmes of the Higher Education Council are to take necessary measures for the mental and physical well-being of students; to provide their social needs regarding nutrition, studies, relaxation, use of leisure time and the like; this aim in mind and within the limits of the budget, to open reading rooms, health centres with beds, medico-social centres, student canteens and restaurants; to provide cinema and theatre halls, outdoor camping places, gymnasiums and sports grounds.

b. Higher education institutions,with the cooperation of public and private organizations, are to assist their graduates in finding jobs.

c. The universities are to establish centres for guidance and psychological counselling and try to solve the personal and family problems of the students.

d. The number and distribution of the students who shall study in the universities, sponsored by public institutions and receiving scholarships from them shall be determined by the Higher Education Council taking into consideration manpower requirements and the need to train academic staff, and in accordance with the principles and aims of the National Development Plans. The fees of the scholarship students and also their laboratory, examination and diploma charges are all included in the scholarship.

The Printing of Textbooks and Teaching Materials:

ARTICLE 48. In universities, textbooks and teaching materials are printed by the universities themselves and sold to students at a price not to exceed the printing costs. The teaching staff may not print textbooks and teaching materials on their own initiative. In the event of their begin informed in writing by the institution's Administrative Committee that the books accepted for printing cannot be printed within that academic year,then they have the right to print them with the printing right reserved.

Foreign Language Preparatory Instruction:

ARTICLE 49. Those higher education institutions which carry out education, partially or totally, in a foreign language, administer a proficiency examination in the language of media of teaching. students found inadequate in the foreign language examination are given preparatory courses of up to one year's duration, according to principles to be established by the Higher Education Council. Students unsuccessful in this language courses are dismissed.

Post-Graduate Education:

ARTICLE 50. Procedures and Requirements:

a. Higher education institutions shall conduct examinations to help in the selection of those university graduates who wish to go on to post-graduate studies, doctorates or specialization in a field of medicine. selection will be finalized according to the principles drawn up by the Inter-university Board,

b. Students in post-graduate education are charged no fees,

c. Students in post-graduate education may receive scholarships, they may also be appointed for a period of one year at a time to an a ancillary staff position.

PART EIGHT: ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF AND OTHER EMPLOYEES

Administrative Organizations:

ARTICLE 51. A secretary general is appointed to be in charge of the central administration and he is responsible, in governing bodies to the President and in universities to the rector. In addition, there will be necessary number of office heads, directors, consultant, legal advisors, experts, clerical staff and service personnel who are subject to Civil Servant Law number 657.

Appointment:

ARTICLE 52. Appointment Procedures:

a. The secretary general, department heads, directors, legal advisors and experts are appointed by the President of Higher Education Council, upon the recommendation of the relevant board of the higher education governing body; in universities the appointment is made by the Rector on the recommendation of the University Administrative Board.
Similarly the appointment of faculty, institute and school secretaries is made by the relevant Dean or Director upon the recommendation of the Rector.

b. Secretary Generals of governing bodies and universities must be university graduates and the faculty, institute and school secretaries must have a higher education diploma.

c. The administrative and other staff, in higher education governing bodies and in universities, can be appointed or transferred by the president of the Higher Education Council to other public organizations, or to other units of the higher education governing bodies and to the higher education institutions, upon the recommendation of the secretaries-general in higher education governing bodies and of rectors in universities.

PART NINE- DISCIPLINARY AND PENAL PROCEDURES

General Principles:

ARTICLE 53.

a. The president of the Higher Education Council is the disciplinary super intendent of the Higher Education Council and of university rectors; similarly rectors, of universities; deans, of faculties; institute and school directors, of institute and schools; secretary -general or secretaries,of the office of the relevant units. The administrative boards of the universities as well as of their attached units function, at the same time, as disciplinary committees when the case of a professor is in question; nor are assistant docents admitted when the case of a doçent is under discussion.

b. Disciplinary procedures concerning teaching staff members and the administrative and other personnel and also responsibilities of the disciplinary superintendents, are determined by the Higher Education Council in accordance with the procedures and principles applied to civil servants.

c. General provisions are applied as regard the principles and procedures of penal investigations.

Student Disciplinary Procedure:

ARTICLE 54. Investigation, Powers and Penalties:

a. To those students whose behaviour on the premises or otherwise,is incompatible with the character and dignity of the student of higher education; who directly or indirectly restrict the freedom of learning and teaching; who violate the peace and order of institutions; who participate in actions such as boycotts, occupation and obstructions; who encourage and provocate such actions; who assault the person, the honour and dignity of the personnel of higher education institutions; who behave disrespectfully; and who participate in anarchic or ideological actions or encourage and provocate such actions- to those students such penalties will be given as warning (even if such an action amounts to crime) reprimand,suspension for between one week to one month, or for one or two semesters or expulsion from higher education institutions, even though such conduct involves another offence.

b. The Faculty Dean, the school or institute Director is authorized to investigate disciplinary actions of students on or off the premises of a faculty, or of an institute, or of a school, and directly to meet out the appropriate punishment or to refer the case to the disciplinary committee.

c. The procedure for disciplinary investigation is commenced as soon as the incident is made known, and the investigation is concluded at most within fifteen days.

d. A student who is under investigation has the right of oral or written defence. The student who does not make his defence within the allocated period is assumed to have renounced his right.

e. A student is notified of disciplinary action in writing. The case is reported both to the organization from which he receives a scholarship or grant and also to the Higher Education Council. The student right to appeal to the University Administration Board within 15 days for reconsideration of the decision concerning his expulsion from higher education institution. Penalties are entered into a student's official records.

f. During the procedures to be carried out in accordance with this article, notification can, if deemed necessary, be made to the student by announcement at his own higher education institution.

g. A decision to expel a student from a Higher Education Council, to Security Authorities and to relevant enlistment office. Students who have been expelled from a higher education institution are not eligible for admission to any higher education institution.

PART TEN - FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

Sources of Income:

ARTICLE 55. Sources of income of higher education governing bodies, the higher education institutions and for the units attached to them are:

a- Annual budgetary allocation,
b-Aids from institutions,
c-Fees and payments received,
d-Income from publications and sales,
e-Income from movable and immovable property,
f-Profits from the enterprises of the revolving fund,
g-Donations, bequests and sundry.

Financial Facilities:

ARTICLE 56. Procedures and methods:

a. All donations and bequests,....., are exempt from taxation, duties, stamp duties and fees.Donations and bequests shall be utilized in full conformity with the conditions and the restrictions laid down by the donors and general legal provisions shall be observed.

b. The donations made in cash by real or legal persons liable for Income Taxes and Corporate Taxes to the Institutes of Higher Education shall be deducted from their respective proceed.

c. Machines, tools, instruments, equipment,pharmaceuticals,

materials and publications which are imported for educational and research purposes by higher educational governing bodies, higher education institutions and units attached to them are exempt from stamps, customs and excise on the condition that these goods are not available or manufactured within the country; similarly, goods of the same kind which are given as donations are also exempt from the same taxes and duties.

d. The Rector in the university and the president in the governing bodies, is entitled to waive claims for the respective institution up to one million Turkish Liras, if, according to his judgement, prosecution would not be in the best interests of the institution; for amounts above one million Turkish Liras, authorization has to be obtain from external auditing authorities.

e. Laws governing bids shall not be liable to the provisions of the Public Laws concerning adjudication, bids and auction.

f. The Universities shall not be liable to the provisions of the Public Law No.1050 Article 135 governing Public Accounting as well as Public Law No.2490 governing adjudication, bids, tender and auction in connection with the construction of buildings, purchase of machinery as well as all kinds of equipment and their maintenance.

İta Amiri(The Executive Officer)

Financial Supervision:

ARTICLE 57. The budgets of higher education governing bodies and higher education institutions are prepared, put into effect and supervised in accordance with the provisions which apply to general subsidiary budgets.
Presidents in higher education governing bodies and rectors in universities are the İta Amiri(s). This authority can, when deemed necessary and appropriate, be delegated to Deputies, Deans, Directors of institutes and schools, Chairmen of the units attached to the governing bodies, and to Secretary Generals of governing bodies and universities.

Revolving Fund:

ARTICLE 58. Management of Revolving Fund:

a. Revolving fund enterprises can be set up in governing bodies upon the proposal of boards concerned and with the approval of the Higher Education Council; in universities and in their attached faculties, institutes and schools, upon the proposal of administrative boards concerned and the recommendation of the Rector and with the approval of the Higher Education Council. The amount of the initial fund is indicated in the budget.This amount can be increased by the addition of its own incomes and also by the decision of the Higher Education Council in higher education governing bodies. In universities this is done with the approval of the Rector upon the proposal of the relevant administrative board.

b. Fields of activities for revolving fund enterprises, their capital limits, the principles governing the administrative procedures related to management, and accounting procedures are set down in the revolving fund regulations.

c. Enterprises of revolving fund are not subject to the provisions of the Public Law Governing General Accounting and Auditing of the State No. 1050, or of the Bidding and Tender Law No. 2490. The revenues acquired from the revolving fund and also each year's unexpedited funds are added to the revolving fund of the fiscal year. The balance sheets and their supplements together with all income-expenditure documents, prepared within four months from the end of the fiscal year, are submitted to the State Court of Accounts, and their copies are sent to the Ministry of Finance within the same period.

At least half of the income accuring to the revolving fund, which is established by the contributions of the teaching staff members of all several units (teaching, research, practise), is allocated to the provision of the various needs of that particular unit, including materials, equipment, research projects and others. The faculty members are entitled to make use of the remaining part of the income, provided that in one year the sum total does not exceed twice the sum of their total yearly salary, including all increments.

PART ELEVEN-MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Restriction on Membership to Political Parties:

ARTICLE 59. Teaching staff members, and students of all levels, in institutions of higher education cannot be affiliated with political parties and their attached organizations; nor can they be involved in any political activity on behalf of a party. Membership to any society, excluding Voluntary Societies, is subject to the Rector's permission in writing.

Re-Appointment to Institutions of Higher Education:

ARTICLE 60

a. Those teaching staff members, who have left institutions of higher education upon their being preferred for the membership of the Cabinet or of the Legislative Bodies on the precondition that they are not affiliated with political parties and with their attached organizations, may, in accordance with the provision of this Law, be reappointed to institutions of higher education, provided that all their earned rights are preserved.

b. Those teaching members who have, at their own consent, left higher education institutions, can, unless they have been expelled by court order or on disciplinary procedure, be reappointed in accordance with the provisions of this Law and pending the consent of the Higher Education Council.

Voting:

ARTICLE 61. In the juries and committees mentioned in this law every member must vote either for or against proposals; they cannot abstain.

The quorum at committee meetings other than those of the YOB shall be more than half the full number of members.

Decisions at all committee meetings shall be taken on the basis of an absolute majority of members taking part.

If at the third attempt an absolute majority cannot be obtained, then at the fourth attempt the principle of a straight majority will be accepted.

Rights of Personnel

ARTICLE 62. Matters not mentioned in this law concerning personnel rights of university teaching and of officials and other appointees in institutes of higher education and universities shall be dealt with in accordance with the University Personnel Law, and matters that are not covered in that law shall be subject to general regulations.

Records of Service

ARTICLE 63. Records of service shall be maintained in accordance with general regulations and with the directives to be prepared by the YOK for all teaching staff, officials, other personnel and students in institutions of higher education. All appointments, promotions, awards of academic titles and other personnel matters shall be recorded.

Leave of absence

ARTICLE 64. Teaching staff shall normally take their annual leave during vacation periods. Cases of leave of absence other than this and the leave of senior personnel and officials in higher education shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Law No 657 relating to Civil Servants.

Rectors shall obtain permission for leave of absence from the President of the YOK, other administrators shall obtain permission from the authority immediately above their own level.

All personnel working in institutions of higher education may absent themselves from duty with the permission of the disciplinary authority in the institution to which they are attached.

Regulations

ARTICLE 65.

a. The following matters shall be regulated by instructions that will be issued by the YOK:

(1) Matters relating to the organisation of the YOK, its working arrangements, the election of its members and selections and appointments within its authority.

(2) The establishment and method of working of the Higher Education Supervision Committee, its inspection methods and the principles on which it will operate.

(3) The establishment and method of working and duties of the Student Selection and Placement Centre, the principles of student selection and placement, the registration and examination fees to be received from candidates and the principles concerning the use of the fund that will be created from these fees.

(4) The procedures relating to promotion and appointment to positions as assistant doçent, doçent and professor in institutions of higher education covered by this law.

(5) The principles of training teaching staff.

(6) The principles relating to the weekly teaching load.

(7) The principles to be applied with regard to the question of charges and the charges levied on foreign students.

(8) The principles to be applied with regard to the printing of textbooks and handouts and matters relating to copyright to be paid.

(9) Matters relating to disciplinary procedures for teaching staff, officials and other personnel and students, the authority of disciplinary officers and the composition and work of disciplinary committees.

Abrogated Laws and Provisions:

ARTICLE 66. The University Law, No. 1750, in its entirety, and the provisions of the following laws and other laws related to higher education institutions being in conflict with this law are abrogated.

The İstanbul Technical University Law, No. 4619 with supplements and amendments,

The Karadeniz Technical University Law, No.6594 with its supplements and amendments

The Establishment Law of a University in İzmir under the name of Ege University, No.6595, with its supple4ments and amendments,

The Atatürk University Law, No.6990, with its supplements and amendments,

The Middle East Technical University Law No.7307,with its supplements and amendments,

The Establishment Law of Hacettepe University, No.892, with its supplements and amendments,

The Establishment of Law, of Diyarbakır University,No.1785,

The Establishment Law of Çukurova University, No.1786,

The Establishment Law of Anadolu University, No.1787,

The Establishment Law of Cumhuriyet University, No.1788,

The Establishment Law of İnönü University, No.1872,

The Law Concerning the Establishment of Four New Universities, No.1873, and its supplements and amendments,

The Law about the Establishment of a University in İstanbul under the name of Boğaziçi(Bosphorus) University No.1487,

The Law about the Establishment of Posts at Ankara University, No. 5239,with its Supplementary Law Concerning the Units Attached to Ankara University,

The Law about the Establishment of Posts at İstanbul University, No.5247,with its Supplementary Law,

The Law Concerning the Establishment of Kayseri University, No.2175.

Enforcement:

ARTICLE 67. Of this Law:

a-The provision made in Article 5,clause(1) concerning the inclusion of physical education or one branch of the fine arts, and of a foreign language as obligatory courses, will be implemented in the academic year of 1983-1984.

b.Article 30 will go into effect in 1985.

c. The provisions made in article 46 concerning tuition fees will be implemented in the academic year 1982-1983,

d. The provisions of the other Articles of this Law will come into force as from the date of publication in the official Gazette.

Execution:

ARTICLE 68. This Law shall be enforced by the Council of Ministers.

APPENDIX B

THE 1982 TURKISH CONSTITUTION'S RELATED ARTICLES

WITH HIGHER EDUCATION

Institutions of Higher Education and Their Higher Bodies
1. Institutions of Higher Education

ARTICLE 130. For the purpose of training manpower under a system of contemporary education and training principles and meeting the needs of the nation and the country, universities comprising several units will be established by the State and by law as public corporations having autonomy in teaching, assigned to educate, train at different levels after secondary education, and conduct research, to act as consultants, to issue publications and to serve the country and humanity.

Institutions, of higher education under supervision and control of the State, can be established by foundations in accordance with the procedures and principles set forth in the law provided that they do not pursue lucrative aims.

The law shall provide for a balanced geographical distribution of universities throughout the country.

Universities, members of the teaching staff and their assisstants may freely engage in all kinds of scientific research and publication. However, this shall not include the liberity to engage in activities directed against the existence and independence of the State, and against the integrity and indivisibilty of the nation and the country.

Universities and units attached to them are under the control and supervision of the State, and their security ensured vby the State.

University recxtors shall be appointed by the President of the Republic, and faculty deans by the Higher Education Council, in accordance with the procedures and provision of the law.

The administrative and supervisory organs of the universities and the teaching staff may not for any reason whatsoever be removed from their office by authorities other than those of the competent organs of the university or by the Higher Eduaction Council.

The budgets drawn up by universities, after being examinedand approved by the Higher Education Council shall be presented to the Ministry of National Education, and shall be put into effect and supervised in conformity with the principles applied to general and subsidiary budgets.

The establishment of institutions of higher education and their organs, their functioning and their elections, their duties, authorities and responsibilties, the procedures to be followed by the

State in the exercise of the right to supervise and inspect the universities, the duties of the teaching staff, their titles, appointments, promotions and retirement, the training of the teaching staff, the relations of the universities and the teaching staff with public institutions and other organisations, the level and duration of education, admission of students into institutions of higher education, attendance requirements and fees, principles relating to assistance to be provided by the State, disciplinary and penalty matters, financial affairs, personnel rights, conditions to be conformed with by the teaching staff in accordance with inter-university requirements, the pursuance of training and education in freedom and under guarantee and in accordance with the requirements of contemporary science and technology, and the use of financial resources provided by the State to the Higher Education Council and the Universities shall be regulated by law.

Institutions of higher education established by foundations, shall be subject to the provisions set forth in the Constitution for State institutions of higher education, as regards the academic activities, recruitment of teaching staff and security, excepting the financial and administrative matters.

2. Superior Bodies of Higher Education

ARTICLE 131. The Higher Eduacation Council shall be established, to plan, organise, administer, and supervise the education provided by institutions of higher education, to orient the activities of teaching, education and scientific research, to ensure the establishment and development of these institutions in conformity with the objectives and principles set forth by law, to ensure the effective use of the resources alloted to the universities, and to plan the training of the teaching staff.

The Higher Education Council is composed of members appointed by the President of Republic from among the candidates who are nominated by the Council of Ministers, The CHief of General Staff and the Universities, and in accordance with the numbers, qualifications and procedure prescribed by law, priority beign given to those who have served successfully as Faculty members or Rectors, and of members directly appointed by the President of the Republic himself.

The organisation, functions, authority, responsibilty and operating principles of the Council shall be regulated by law.

3. institutions of Higher Education Subject to Special Provisions

ARTICLE 132. Institutions of Higher Education attached to the Turkish Armed forces and to the security organisation are subject to the provisions of their respective and special law.

APPENDIX C

THE INFLUENCE OF YÖK ON TEACHING STAFF

1. Total numbers of teaching staff according to grades in your faculty (department)

   1979:
   1990:

2. The number of students in your in your faculty (department):

   1980:
   1990:

3. How do you evaluate changes in the distribution of teaching staff among universities and faculties before and after YÖK?

4. In your opinion, what has been the effect of "rotation" on provincial universities and has rotation been successful?

5. How do you rate the teaching staff appointment model introduced by YÖK? What do you think are the differences between the former teaching appointments and the new ones?

6. Have the changes in requirements for appointments and promotions made your work more easy or more difficult?

7. a. Do you have opportunities for the activities listed below?
   b. Have you made use of these opportunities?

   i. research within your own university
   ii. Participation in seminars, lectures, conferences elsewhere in Turkey
   iii. research abroad
   iv. Participation in seminars, lectures, conferences abroad.

8. From which institutions are you able to obtain financial support for the above activities:

   a. Your own faculty
   b. Turkish official authorities
   c. Turkish private foundations
   d. Foreign sources.

9. What percentage of your faculty's (department's) budget is allocated participation in such activities?

10. Since YÖK came into being how many members of staff from your faculty (department) have been sent abroad for postgraduate training, on what salary levels and on what conditions?

11. In your opinion has government influence on universities:

    a. increased?
    b. remained unchanged?
    c. decreased?

12. What in your opinion is the influence of YÖK and politicians on university teaching staff?

13. By whom is your work evaluated?

    a. Rector
    b. Dean
    c. Head of Department
    d. Other

14. By whom and how is the work of teaching staff evaluated?

15. What material and moral satisfaction do teaching staff derive from their work and how do they see the future?

16. How do you find the salaries of teaching staff in comparison with those of similar professions?

17. How do you think Turkish society views and evaluates members of university teaching staff?

18. What do you think of the position of teaching staff in Turkey in comparison with other countries?

If you can answer the above questions without giving your name but simply stating your post you will render great assistance to me in my doctoral research. Thank you.

APPENDIX C

YÖK'ÜN ÖGRETİM ELEMANLARI ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİLERİ

1. Fakültenizin(bölümünüzün) değişik kademelerindeki öğretim elemanlarının toplam sayısı:
   1980:
   1990:

2. Fakültenizdeki (bölümünüzdeki) öğrenci sayısı:
   1980:
   1990:

3. YÖK'den önce ve sonra ögretim elemanlarının üniversite ve fakülteler arasındaki dağılımınındaki değişikliği nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

4. Rotasyonun büyük şehirlerdeki üniversiteler dışındaki üniversiteler üzerindeki etkisi sizce nedir ve başarılı olmuş mudur?

5. YÖK'den sonraki ögretim elemanı atama modelini nasıl buluyorsunuz,eski ögretim elemanlarıyla yeni atananlar arasındaki farklar size göre nelerdir?

6. Göreve atamada ve yükseltilmelerde aranan koşullardaki değişikliklerle göreviniz
   kolaylaştı mı?
   zorlaştı mı?

7. Aşağıdaki faaliyetlere (a) fırsatınız var mı?
   (b) bu fırsatı değerlendirebildiniz mi?

   i) Kendi üniversiteniz içerisinde araştırma yapma
   ii) Türkiye'de seminerlere, konferanslara katilabilme
   iii) yurtdışındaki araştırma
   iv) yurtdışındaki seminerlere, konferanslara katilabilme

8. Yukardaki faaliyetler için hnagi kuruluşlardan parasal destek bulabiliyorsunuz:

   a. Kendi fakülteniz
   b. Türk resmi makamları
   c. Türk özel kuruluşları
   d. Yabancı kaynaklar

9. Kendi fakültenizin(bölümünüzün) bütçesinden bu tür katılımlar için ayrılan miktarın yüzdesi nedir?

10. Lisans üstü eğitim yapmak amacıyla fakültenizden (bölümünüzden) kaç eleman ne kadar ücretle ve hangi koşullarda yurt dışına yollanmıştır (YÖK'den sonra)?

11. Hükümetin üniversiteler üzerindeki etkisi sizce
    a) arttı mı?
    b) değişmedi mi?
    c) azaldı mı?

12. YÖK ve politikacıların üniversite ögretim elemanları üzerindeki etkileri sizce nelerdir?

13. Sizin çalışmalarınız kimler tarafından değerlendirilmektedir?
    a) Rektör
    b) Dekan
    c) Bölüm Bşk
    d) Diğer

14. Öğretim elemanlarının çalışmaları kimler tarafından ve nasıl değerlendirilmektedir?

15. Öğretim elemanlarının görevlerinden sağladıkları maddi ve manevi doyum nedir ve geleceği nasıl görmektedirler?

16. Öğretim elemanlarına verilen ücretleri eşdeğerleri ile karşılaştırdığınızda nasıl buluyorsunuz?

17. Türk toplumun sizce öğretim üyelerini ne şekilde görüp değerlendirmektedir.

18. Diğer ülkelerle karşılaştırıldığında, Türkiye'deki ögretim üyelerinin durumunu nasıl buluyorsunuz?

Yukarıdaki sorulara isim vermeden yalnızca görevinizi belirterek cevap verebilirseniz, yapmakta olduğum doktora çalışmama büyük ölçüde yardım etmiş olursunuz. Teşekkür ederim.

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Answers to the following questions will make an important contribution to research on universities. I shall be very pleased if you will be kind enough to take part in this research by giving up five minutes of your time and answering some of the questions with a "Yes" or "No" or with a single word and others simply by indicating which of the multi-choice answers is correct. If you wish to make any additional comments, please do not hesitate to write them on the second page. Your views will be very carefully evaluated. Thank you in advance for your time and patience.

1. Your sex:

   Female ( )
   Male ( )

2. Your age: ( )

3. The university you are in:.....

4. Subject: .....

5. Where did you place the subject you are now studying at university on your preference list? ( )

6. How did you choose the subjects you are taking:

I chose of my own free will. ( )
I followed my family's wishes. ( )
I was motivated by prospects of a better material life after graduation. ( )
I was motivated by prospects of a satisfying career after graduation. ( )
I did not choose but the exam results determined my option ( )

7. How many years did you take the ÖSS and ÖYS examinations before you gained a place on this course? ( )

8. Which of the following helped you most to enter the university?

My own studying. ( )
My family's help ( )
The education given by my *lise* ( )
The private course I attend to prepare for the university entrance examinations ( )
The private lessons I took. ( )
Other . ( )

9. What is your present attitude towards your subject?

I am very happy with it. ( )
I have accepted the necessity to do it. ( )
I have no choice but to continue with it. ( )
I will take another examination to qualify to change to another subject. ( )

10. How do you pay your university fees?

Grant from the state. ( )
Support from my family. ( )
From a private grant. ( )
I am working to pay my own way. ( )

11. What is your main reason for studying in the university:

Material. ( )
To get a better place in society. ( )
By reason of army service. ( )
Other. ( )

12. When do you hope to get a job after graduation?

As soon as possible. ( )
After further post-graduate education. ( )
I have very little chance of finding a job. ( )

13. If you are free to choose, where would you like to work after graduation:

I would only like to work in the city where I graduated. ( )
I would only like to work in a big city. ( )
I am willing to work in the east and south east of Turkey ( )
I am willing to work anywhere ( )
I have an opportunity to work abroad . ( )

14. Do you think that the university selection and placement examinations allocate students according to their abilities?

Yes. ( )
No. ( )

15. Your mother's education

5 years primary	( )
Lower Secondary	( )
Lise	( )
University	( )
Other	( )

Your father's education

5 years primary	( )
Lower Secondary	( )
Lise	( )
University	( )
Other	( )

16. Do you have anything to add?

Thank you and best wishes.

APPENDIX D

ÜNIVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİLERİ İÇİN ANKET

Aşağıdaki soruların üniversitelerle ilgili bir araştırmaya yapıcı sonuçları olacaktır. Eğer beş dakikanızı ayırıp bazı soruları "Evet veya Hayır" ile veya tek bir kelime ile, seçmeli soruları da yalnızca işaretleyerek bu araştımaya katkıda bulunursanız sevinirim. Ayrıca herhangi bir yorumda bulunmak isterseniz lütfen ikinci sayfayı kullanarak düşüncelerinizi çekinmeden ekleyin. Düşünceleriniz büyük bir titizlikle değerlen-dirilecektir. Zamanınız ve sabrınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

   Kız ( )
   Erkek ( )

2. Yaşınız: ( )

3. Bulunduğunuz üniversite: .....

4. Bölümünüz: .....

5. Şu anda bulunduğunuz bölüm üniversite sınavlarındaki seçme sıralamanızda kaçıncı tercihinizdi? ( )

6. Bulunduğunuz bölümü:

   Kendim isteyerek seçtim. ( )
   Ailem istediği için seçtim. ( )
   Mezun olunca daha iyi maddi olanaklara sahip olacağım için seçtim. ( )
   Mezun olduktan sonra iş bulmak kolay olduğu için seçtim. ( )
   Sınav sonucu ÖSYM'nin beni yerleştirmesiyle girdim. ( )

7. Bulunduğunuz bölüme girmek için kaç kez sınava girdiniz? ( )

8. Üniversiteye girebilmek için aşağıdakilerden hangilerini yararlı buldunuz?

   Kendi çalışmalarımı. ( )
   Ailemin yardımlarını. ( )
   Okuduğum lisenin verdiği eğitimi. ( )
   Katıldığım üniversite hazırlık kursunu. ( )

Aldığım özel dersleri. ( )
Diğer. ( )

9. Bulunduğunuz bölümü nasıl buluyorsunuz?

Çok mutluyum. ( )
Razıyım. ( )
Seçme şansım yok. ( )
Başka bölüme girmek için yeniden sınava gireceğim. ( )

10. Üniversite harcını nasıl ödüyorsunuz?

Devlet bursu ile. ( )
Ailem tarafından karşılanıyor. ( )
Özel kaynaktan karşılanıyor. ( )
Kendim çalışarak karşılıyorum. ( )

11. Üniversiteye girmek istememinizin başlıca nedeni:

Ekonomik. ( )
Toplumda daha iyi statüye sahip olmak. ( )
Askerlikten ötürü. ( )
Diğer. ( )

12. Mezun olduktan sonra ne zaman iş bulmayı umuyorsunuz?

Hemen. ( )
Daha üst düzeyde eğitim yaptıktan sonra. ( )
İş bulma şansım çok az. ( )

13. Mezun olduktan sonra eğer iş seçme şansınız olursa:

Sadece bulunduğum şehirde çalışmak isterim. ( )
Sadece büyük gelişmiş şehirlerde çalışmak isterim. ( )
Doğu ve güneydoğu Anadoluda çalışabilirim. ( )
Her yerde çalışabilirim. ( )
Türkiye dışında iş bulma olanağım var. ( )

14. Sizce üniversite seçme ve yerleştirme sınavları gerçekten sistem olarak öğrencileri yetenekleri doğrultusunda mı yerleştiriyor?

Evet. ( )
Hayır ( )

15. Annenizin eğitim düzeyi

İlk okul	( )
Orta okul	( )
Lise	( )
Üniversite	( )
Diğer	( )

Babanızın eğitim düzeyi

İlk okul	( )
Orta okul	( )
Lise	( )
Üniversite	( )
Diğer	( )

16. Eklemek istediğiniz herhangi bir şey var mı?

Başarılar ve teşekkürler.

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE CANDIDATES

The questions below will have an constructive impact to the Ph D research. If you can spend about five minutes and answer the questions with 'yes' or 'no' or one word and the ones with multiple choices with one with tick you will be given great assistance. Also if you like to comment about universities and its education please feel free and add all your points to the back of second page. Your thought will be evaluated very carefully. Thank you very much for your time and effort.

1. Your gender:

   Female ( )
   Male ( )

2. Your age: ( )

3. Including this exam you are about to take how many times you will be taking the exam?

4. How are you preparing for university?

   I am attending an intensive course.
   I will be going to the course before exams.
   I am only attending a few hours course a week.
   I am taking a special tutorial.
   I am preparing myself.

5. If you are attending a course or getting private tuition who is paying the financial side of it:

   My family is providing.
   I am earning myself.
   Other sources.

6. Why did you choose to take this course?

   My family chose.
   The cost is less than the other ones.
   The cost is not important as I would like to get a better place.
   The course guaranteed the place that I want to get.
   Other reasons

7. The chance of entering the place you want:

Very strong
I am not sure
It does not matter for me as long as I get a place.

8. In your opinion what does a student with a *lise* degree gains?

Lise education is sufficient to find a job.
Lise education facilitates the entrance to university.
Lise education does not make you gain anything but general knowledge.

9. Why do you want enter university?
My family wants.
I want for myself.
I want it because I know I cannot find a job at the moment.
If I have a degree I can find better jobs in the future.
I want it because I can help for the development of the society.
I don't want to go to army service as a soldier.

10. If I am successful for the provincial university

I can go.
I cannot go.

11. If you cannot go the reason:

Financial.
My family does not want.
I don't find them adequate enough.

12. If you are successful to enter university what is your chance to find a

job after the graduation:
Pretty high.
Very little.
I can only find a job after further education.

13. If you won't be successful in the university exams:

I will try again.
I will try to find a job.
I will go to my army service.
I will do something different.

14. Which subject you want to study in the university? ....

15. Your mother's education

5 years primary	( )
Lower Secondary	( )
Lise	( )
University	( )
Other	( )

Your father's education

5 Years primary	( )
Lower Secondary	( )
Lise	( )
University	( )
Other	( )

16. Do you think that the university selection and placement exam, locates the students according to their ability?

Yes.	( )
No.	( )

17. Do you have anything to add?

APPENDIX E

ÜNIVERSİTE ÖĞRENCİ ADAYLARI İÇİN ANKET

Aşağıdaki soruların üniversitelerle ilgili bir araştırmaya yapıcı sonuçları olacaktır. Eğer beş dakikanızı verip bazı soruları "evet veya hayır" ile veya tek bir kelime ile, seçmeli soruları da sadece işaretleyerek bu araştırmaya katkıda bulunursanız sevinirim. Ayrıca herhangi bir konuda yorumda bulunmak isterseniz, lütfen ikinci sayfaya düşüncelerinizi ekleyin. Düşünceleriniz zevkle değerlendirilecektir. Ayıracağınız zamana ve yardımınıza şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

   Kız ( )
   Erkek ( )

2. Yaşınız: ( )

3. Bu, sınava kaçıncı girişiniz olacak? ( )

4. Üniversiteye nasıl hazırlanıyorsunuz?
   Yoğun bir kursa katılıyorum. ( )
   Sınava yakın kursa gideceğim. ( )
   Sadece bir-iki saat kursa gidiyorum. ( )
   Özel ders alıyorum. ( )
   Kendim hazırlanıyorum. ( )

5. Eğer kursa gidiyorsanız veya özel ders alıyorsanız bunun ekonomik yönünü:
   Ailem karşılıyor. ( )
   Parasını kendim çalışarak kazanıyorum. ( )
   Başka özel bir kaynaktan karşılanıyor. ( )

6. Gittiğiniz kursu neden seçtiniz?

   Ailem seçti. ( )
   Ücreti diğerlerine nazaran daha uygun. ( )
   İyi bir bölüme girmek istediğim için parası önemli değil. ( )
   Kurs üniversiteyi kazanmayı garanti ettiği için. ( )
   Diğer nedenden ( )

7. İstediğiniz bölüme girme şansınız:
   Çok kuvvetli ( )
   Emin değilim ( )
   Benim için herhangi bir yere girmek yeterli. ( )

8. Sizce liseden mezun olmak öğrenciye ne kazandırır?

Lise eğitimi iş bulmak için yeterlidir. ( )
Lise eğitimi Üniversite için bir araçtır. ( )
Lise eğitimi genel kültür dışında bir şey kazandırmaz. ( )

9. Üniversiteye girmek isteğiniz nereden kaynaklanıyor?
Ailem istiyor. ( )
Kendim istiyorum. ( )
Şu anda iş bulamayacağımı bildiğim için istiyorum. ( )
İlerde daha iyi bir iş bulmak için girmek istiyorum. ( )
Toplumun ilerlemesine katkıda bulunmak için istiyorum. ( )
Askerlikten ötürü. ( )

10. Yaşadığım şehrin dışındaki bir üniversiteyi kazanırsam:

Gidebilirim. ( )
Gidemem. ( )

11. Eğer gidemezseniz nedeni:

Ekonomik ( )
Ailem istemiyor. ( )
Küçük taşra üniversitelerini yeterli bulmuyorum. ( )

12. Eğer üniversiteye girebilirseniz mezun olduktan sonra iş bulma şansınız:

Yüksek ( )
İş bulma şansım çok az. ( )
Daha üst düzeyde eğitim yaparak iş bulabilirim. ( )

13. Eğer sınavı kazanamazsanız:
Tekrar deneyeceğim. ( )
İş bulmaya çalışacağım. ( )
Askere gideceğim. ( )
Başka bir şey yapacağım. ( )

14. İstediğiniz bölüm nedir? .....

15. Babanızın eğitim düzeyi

İlk ( )
Orta ( )
Lise ( )
Üniversite ( )
Diğer ( )

Annenizin eğitim düzeyi:

İlk ( )
Orta ( )
Lise ( )
Üniversite ( )
Diğer ( )

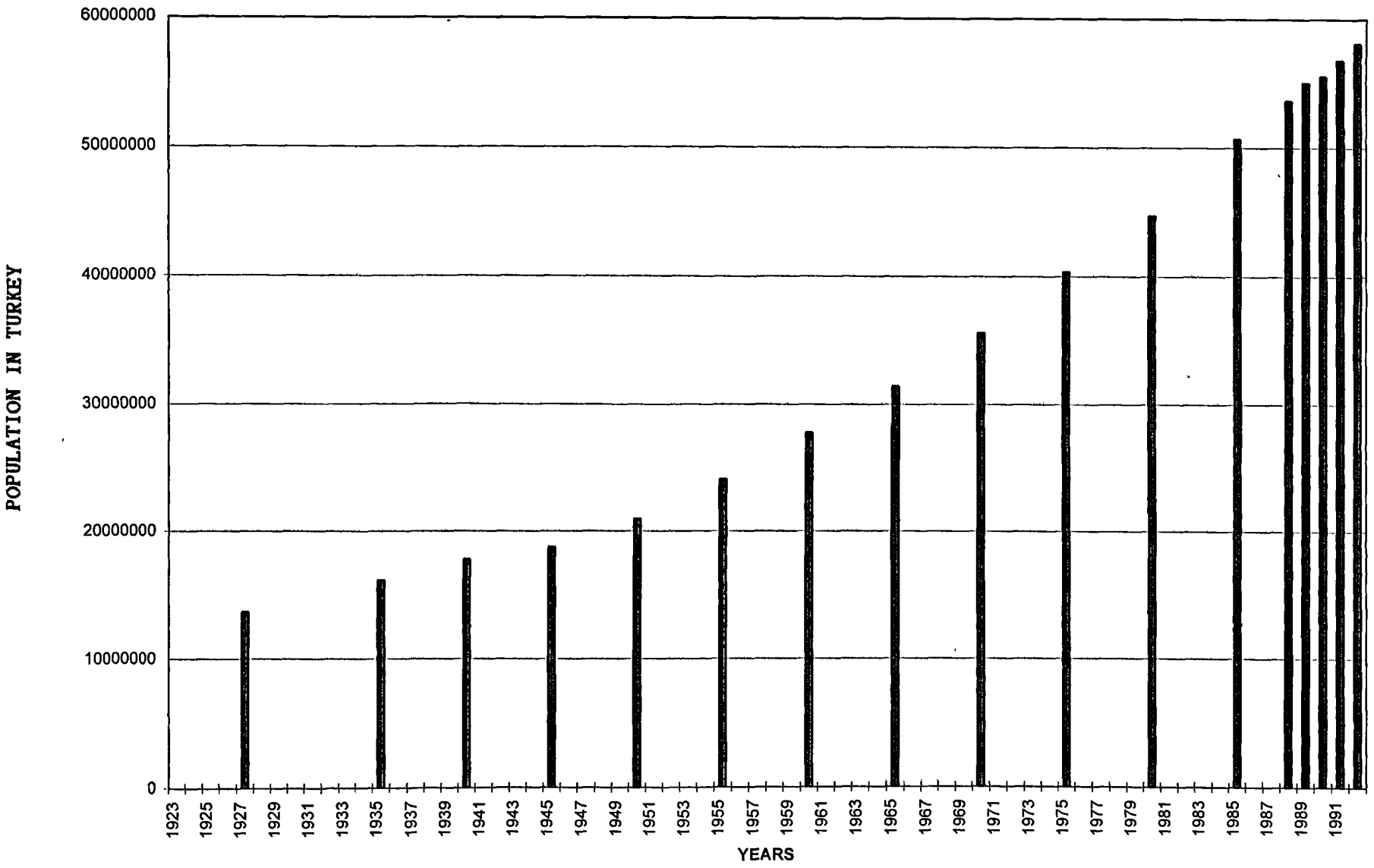
16. Sizce üniversite seçme ve yerleştirme sınavları öğrencinin yeteneklerini göz önüne alıyor mu?

Evet	( )
Hayır	( )

17. Eklemek istediğiniz herhangi bir şey var mı?

Başarılar ve teşekkürler.

APPENDIX F


POPULATION IN TURKEY
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40000000
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20000000
10000000
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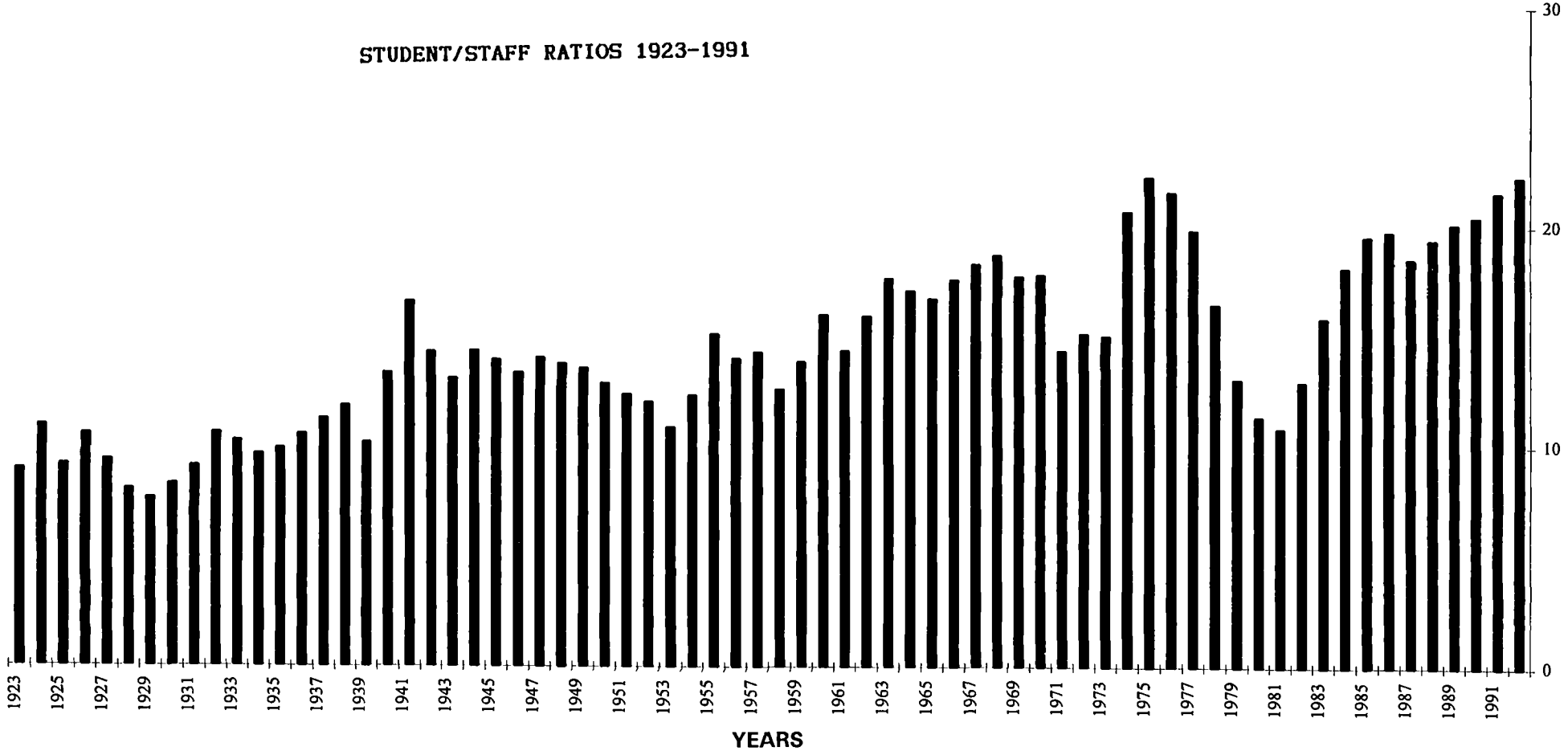
STUDENT/STAFF RATIOS 1923-1991
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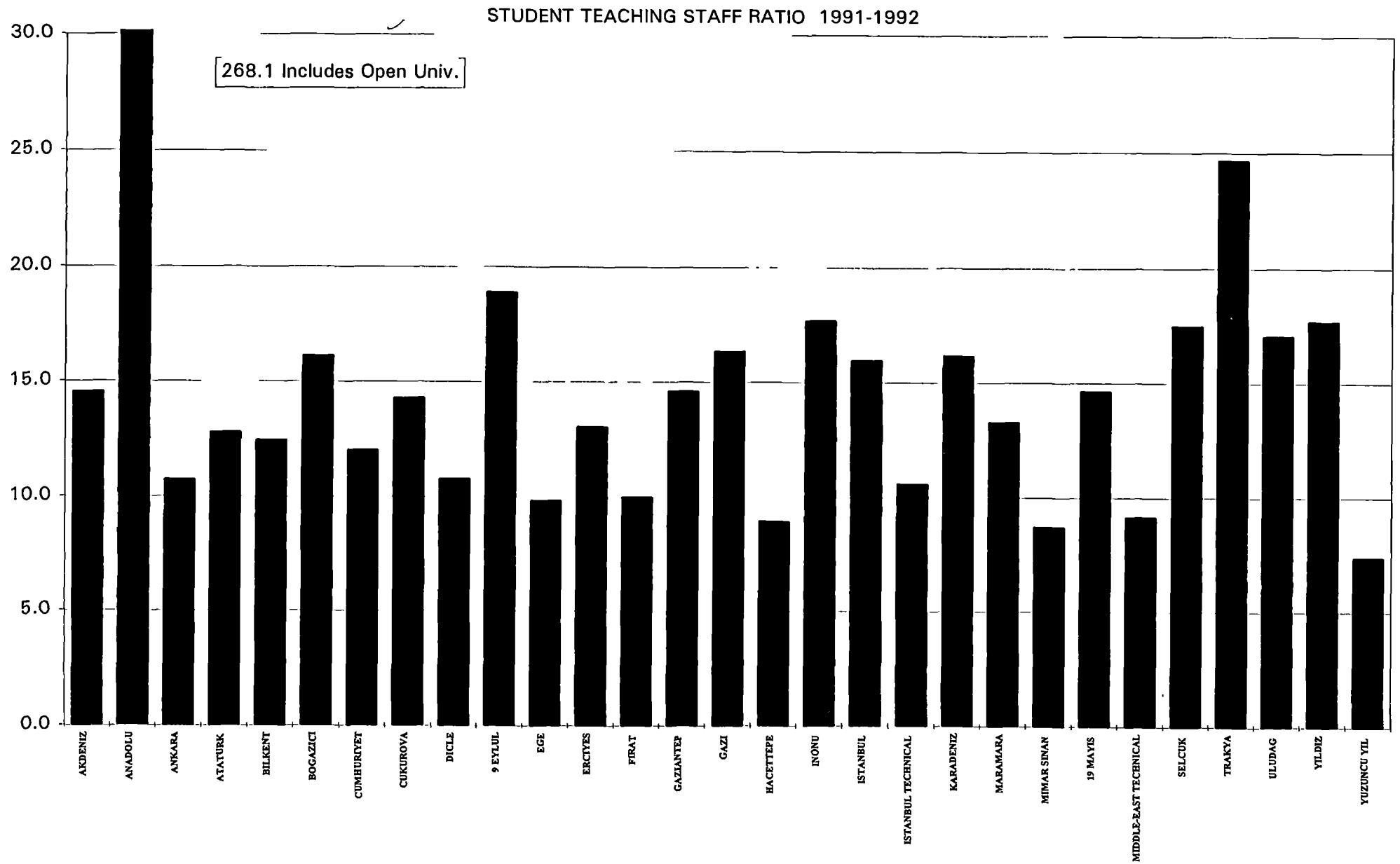
YEARS


STUDENT TEACHING STAFF RATIO 1991-1992
268.1 Includes Open Univ.
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25.0
20.0
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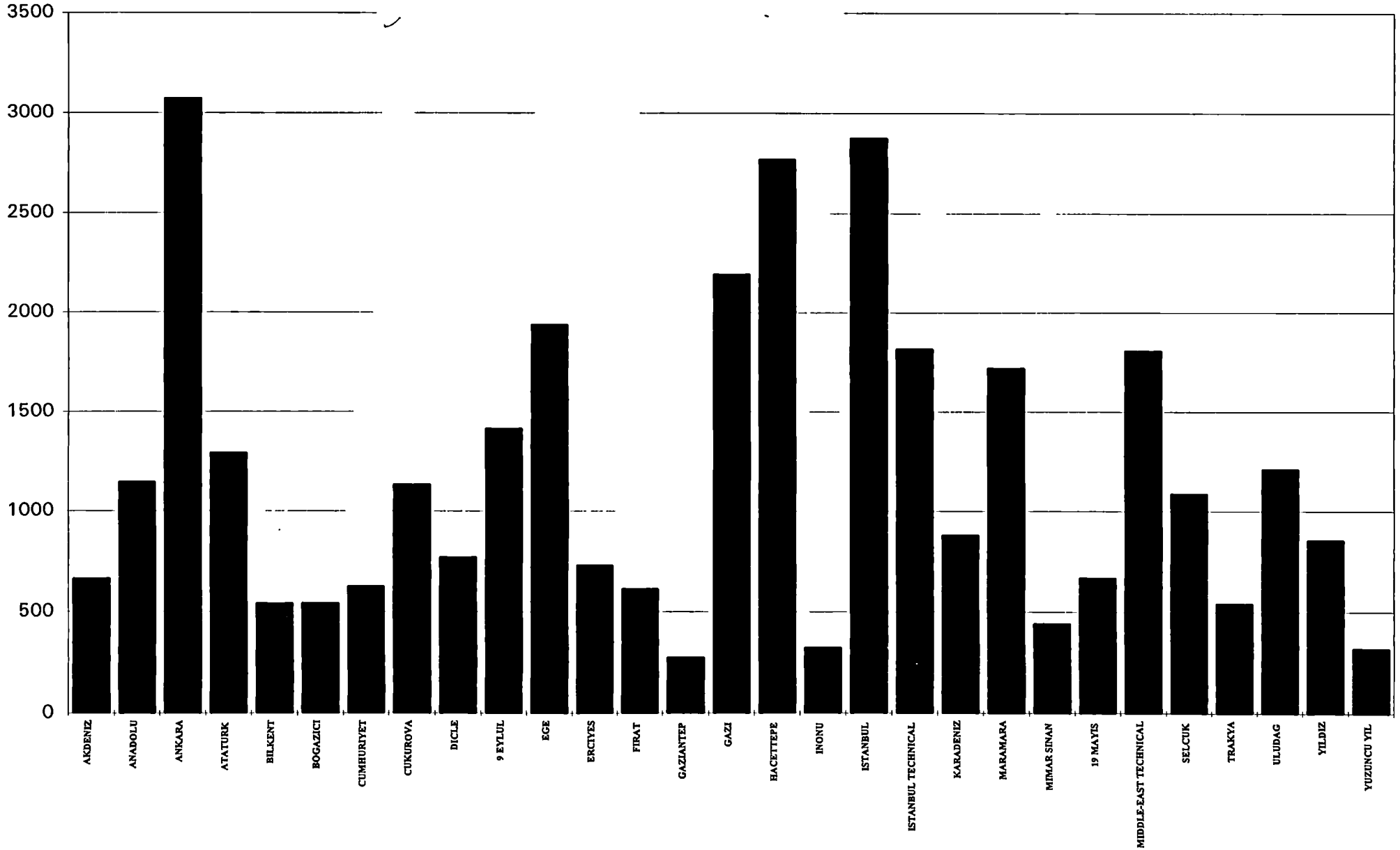
ANADOLU
ANKARA
ATATURK
BILKENT
BOGAZICI
CUMHURIYET
CUKUROVA
DICLE
9 EYLUL
EGE
ERCIYES
FIRAT
GAZIANTEP
GAZI
HACETTEPE
INONU
ISTANBUL
ISTANBUL TECHNICAL
KARADENIZ
MARAMARA
MIMAR SINAN
19 MAYIS
MIDDLE-EAST TECHNICAL
SELCUK
TRAKYA
ULUDAG
YILDIZ
YUZUNCU YIL



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